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THE
INDIANS

OF

NEW JERSEY:

Their Origin and Development; Manners and
Customs; Language, Religion and
Government.

WITH NOTICES OF SOME INDIAN PLACE NAMES.

BY WILLIAM NELSON

Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society.
Member of the Congrès International des Américanistes, International
Folk-Lore Congress, American Association for the Advancement of
Science, American Anthropological Society of Washington, American
Folk-Lore Society, American Numismatic and Archæological
Society, American Historical Association, New York Historical Society,
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CONTENTS.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Prefatory | 3 |
| Rabbinical and other Conceptions of the Origin of Man | 5 |
| Palæolithic Implements in the Trenton Gravel | 7 |
| Origin of the American Race | 9 |
| Hiawatha, and the Iroquois League | 14 |
| American Myths | 15 |
| American Languages | 17 |
| The Algonkins—the Lenâpé | 17-18 |
| ORIGIN OF THE LENÂPÉ, OR NEW JERSEY INDIANS | 19 |
| <p style="margin-left: 20px;">Migrations, 19; Legends, 19-20; Walam Olum, 20; Arrival in New Jersey, 23.</p> | |
| <p>MANNERS AND CUSTOMS:</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">Personal adornment, 25; Wigwams, 26-28; Hospitality, 28; How food was cooked, 29; Drink, 30; Tobacco, 31; Agility and endurance, 32; Clothing, 32; Implements, 33; Canoes, how made, 34; Cloth, manufacture of, 35; Ornaments, 35; Sewant—wampum, used for personal ornaments and for currency, 35; Wampum belts, their use and significance, 38; Courtship, Marriage, Divorce, 39; Child-bearing, and treatment of infants, 41; Aversion to uttering personal names, 41; Training of boys, 42; Hunting, 42; Games, 43; How girls were trained, 44; Honesty, kindness, few wants, 44; Implacable in their hatreds, 45; Punishment of crime, 45; Division of time, 46; Medicine and surgery, 47; Powaws, their singular powers, 49; Ideas of disease and death, 54; Burial and mourning customs, 54.</p> | |
| <p>AMERICAN LANGUAGES:</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">Number and classification, 57; Algonkin and Lenâpé languages, 58; Importance of the study of the American languages, 60; Bibliography of Lenâpé literature, 61; Grammatical structure of the Lenâpé language, 62; Variations among the sub-tribes, 64; Lenâpé numerals, 65; Comparisons of the language at long intervals, 65, 139.</p> | |
| <p>SPECIMENS OF LENÂPÉ:</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">Parable of the Prodigal Son, 66; The Lord's Prayer, 67.</p> | |
| RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE AMERICANS | 69 |
| <p style="margin-left: 20px;">Among the Lenâpé, 70; Light-myths, 71; Veneration of fire, light, and the sun, 71; Description of religious ceremonies, 72; Ideas of a future life, 73; Manitos, 74; Sacrificial observ-</p> | |

CONTENTS.

ances, 77; The Kinte-kaye, 79; Serpent-worship, 80; Big-Snake Doctors or Priests, 81; Brainerd's description of a Shaman, 82; Witchcraft, 83; Priests and physicians identical, 83; Religious toleration, 84; Ethics not a part of their religion, 84.

INDIAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT :

The gentile organization, 85; Sub-tribes or gentes of the Lenapé—the Minsi, the Unami, the Unalachtigo, 86; The twelve sub-gentes, 87; Manner of choosing the Chief, 88; Duties of the Chiefs, 89; The Captains, 90; Squaw-Sachems, 92; Position of women, 92; The Council, 93; Moral obligation unknown, 93; Rhetorical figures used in the Councils, 94; Delaware "Kings"—Tamanend, Sheekokonichan, Teedyescung, 95; "Indian giving," 98; Totems, 99.

NOTICES OF SOME NEW JERSEY SUB-TRIBES :

Raritans, 100; Newsinghs, 101; Sanhicans, 102; Hackensacks, and their Chiefs—Oratamin, Wapamuck, Pierwin, Captahem, 102; Wappings, Pomptons, Pequannocks, 111; Indian title to the soil, its character, and how acquired by the whites, 112; Tribal ownership, 114.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Missionary Work of the Brainerds..... | 115 |
| Indian Incursions into New Jersey..... | 116 |
| Purchase of the Indian Title to New Jersey..... | 117 |
| Conclusion of Peace with the Indians..... | 118 |
| First Indian Reservation—Brotherton..... | 118 |
| Final Extinguishment of the Indian Claims to New Jersey..... | 119 |

INDIAN PLACE NAMES :

Their character, how conferred, and method of interpretation, 120; Fifty-five local Indian names, and their meanings, 122; "The Indian Interpreter" (two hundred and sixty words and phrases, compiled in 1684), 133; Comparison of the Unami and Minsi dialects, 139; Comparison of Delaware words in 1645, 1778, 1855, 139; Migrations of the New Jersey Indians, 140.

THE INDIAN MISSION AT BROTHERTON :

| | |
|--|-----|
| Letter from the Rev. William Tennent, 1756..... | 141 |
| Letter from the Rev. John Brainerd, 1775..... | 142 |
| Interesting Letter from a Descendant of We-quah-a-lah, a New Jersey Indian "King"..... | 145 |
| Some Further Notices of We-quah-a-lah..... | 147 |

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES :

Indian Council House at Greenwich, 149; Origin of the word Wigwam, 149; a MS. List of Indian place-names in New Jersey, 149; Earliest Indian deed for land in New Jersey, 150; Tuxedo, meaning of, 150.

The City of Paterson in New Jersey is situated on both sides of the *Passaic* river, in *Passaic* county, and embraces within its bounds parts of three tracts formerly known as *Acquackanonk*, *Totowa* and *Wagara*.

To the west and southwest the city is climbing up the sides of the *Watchung* and *Preakness* mountains.

The *Passaic* river is fed by the *Peckamin*, *Pompton*, *Pequannock*, *Ramapo* and *Rockaway* rivers.

These are all Indian names.

An Indian Sachem, *Captahem*, gave the first deed for land within the present *Passaic* county.

Who were the first human dwellers in Paterson? Whence came they? What were their manners and customs? What language did they speak? What was their religion, and what their form and method of government? What mean those names they have affixed so indelibly to rivers, mountains and lands?

In attempting to solve these questions the author has been led to take a brief but comprehensive view of the broader problem—the origin and development of the native races of America; and to speak somewhat fully of the Indian tribes of New Jersey in general.

The paper here given is for the most part reprinted from the author's forthcoming History of the City of Paterson. Only one hundred copies have been printed in this form, for private circulation.

PATERSON, N. J., December 24, 1892.

THE INDIANS OF NEW JERSEY.

THE ABORIGINES.

The doomed Indian leaves behind no trace,
To save his own or serve another race;
With his frail breath his power has passed away,
His deeds, his thoughts, are buried with his clay.
His heraldry is but a broken bow,
His history but a tale of wrong and woe,
His very name must be a blank.

—*Sprague.*

From the time that men began to think, they have been wont to speculate on the unsolved problems: Whence come we? What are we? Whither do we tend? The olden Rabbis spent centuries in overlaying the Pentateuch with an amazing mass of mysticism, as where they said in the Zohar:

“And YHVH Elohim formed Adam, *i. e.*, Man, therefore is written: ‘YHVH Elohim, created Adam,’ with the full Name, like we have stated, that he is perfect and comprises all. We have learned: On the sixth day Man was created at the time when the *Kiseh*, *i. e.*, Throne, was perfected, and is called *Kiseh* Throne; it is written: ‘The Throne had six steps’ (I Kings, x, 19), and therefore Man was created on the sixth (day) because he is worthy to sit on this Throne. And we have learned: When Man was created everything was established, everything which is Above [Ideal] and Below [Concrete], and all is comprised in Man.”¹

¹ The Zohar, III., 48 a, Brody edition; quoted in “Qabbalah. The Philosophical Writings of Solomon Ben Yehudah Ibn Gebirol or Avicbron And their connection with the Hebrew Qabbalah and Sepher ha-

On the other hand, such modern materialists as Haeckel will not tolerate the idea of a Creator, but insist that Man, in common with all animate beings, has developed from a simple cell, or bit of protoplasm.

Whence came the cell? Whence the protoplasm?

As widely different as these two views of the origin of Man, are the opinions of writers as to the origin of the copper-colored natives of America. From a time soon after the discovery of this continent it was a favorite conjecture of students and travelers that in the new world the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel had found a refuge.¹ Innumerable volumes have been written in support of this view. Some travelers, from an imaginary resemblance of certain Indian words to those in other languages, have leaped to the conclusion that they were allied to or descended from the Romans, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Welsh, or other nations, according to the fancy or whim of the hearer. But the old method of making the facts fit a theory has given way to the modern spirit of scientific research, which aims to be sure of its facts before it attempts deductions. Scholars are generally agreed that there are no data yet come to light which enable us to say when, whence or how the American continent was first peopled. Some scientists have inclined to the belief that the natives were autochthonous. That is, admitting the correctness of the evolution theory, the several races of men in different parts of the world were evolved independently from a common type of ancestor—the “missing link.” The civilization of Peru and that of Mexico arose and developed independently of

Zohar,” etc., by Isaac Myer, LL. B., Philadelphia, 1888, p. 424. The *Sepher ha-Zohar*, Book of Illumination, or Splendor, or ancient Qabbalah, is a mystical, running commentary on the Pentateuch or Thorah, based on the *Sod*, or Secret Doctrine, which perhaps antedates the Christian era. Many of the Rabbis believed the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch had a secret, hidden meaning, for the Illuminati or Enlightened, and another meaning for the ordinary reader.

¹ That eminent philanthropist, patriot and student, Elias Boudinot, LL.D., of Burlington, wrote such a work: “A Star in the West; or, a Humble Attempt to Discover the long lost Ten Tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city, Jerusalem.” Trenton, N. J., 1816.

each other, and were widely different in character—in religion, government, customs and language. That of Peru seems to have come from the South, possibly from islands now sunk in the Pacific; that of Mexico from the North. Were the Mound Builders an earlier and different race from the American Indians, or were they the Cherokees, who built mounds in Georgia and other Southern States within the last three centuries? The study of anthropology and ethnology is of the profoundest importance to us, who are all interested in learning the origin, whence we may infer the destiny, of the human race. Anthropology and its attendant handmaidens, Ethnology, Archæology, Linguistics, Mythology, are every day bringing us nearer the solution of the ancient problem.

One of the most important contributions to the history of man in America was the discovery in the Trenton gravel, in 1875, by Dr. Charles C. Abbott, of Trenton, of certain rude stone implements inferior in make to those of the Indians. He and other explorers have since discovered many such specimens *in situ* at Trenton, several feet below the surface. These implements were found in such positions as showed that the people who dropped them there must have lived near the close of the last Glacial epoch, if not before; that is, when the climate of this part of America resembled the Arctic regions of to-day. In the same drift, as already mentioned, the tusk of a mastodon has been found. Bones of the Greenland reindeer, the walrus, the caribou, the moose and the musk-ox have come to light in the same region, together with some human remains. All these facts go to show that New Jersey was inhabited at this period, and by a race much lower in civilization than the Indians of the time of Columbus. The inferences are strong that the Eskimo accompanied the advance of the great ice sheet, and probably retreated with it northward. ¹

¹ Report on the Palæolithic Implements from the Glacial Drift near Trenton, by Dr. C. C. Abbott, Ninth Annual report of Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Mass., 1876, p. 35; The Stone Age in New Jersey, by Dr. C. C. Abbott, Washington, 1877 (pp. 246-380, with 223 figures of stone implements, from Smithsonian Report, 1877); Second Report on the Palæolithic Implements from the

Palæolithic man appears to have inhabited Europe, as far south as Aquitaine, in France, during the Glacial period, and the Palæolithic implements picked up in the Trenton gravel very closely resemble those found in France. This is regarded by many as substantiating Haeckel's view¹ that America was first peopled from Asia via Bering Strait, which has been ascertained to be a feasible route.² But it is a curious and suggestive fact that so far not an arrow head, nor grooved ax, nor stemmed scraper has been found in the Trenton gravel, all the implements being of the very simplest make, ³

Glacial Drift, in the Valley of the Delaware River, near Trenton, N. J., by Charles C. Abbott, M. D., Salem, 1878 (pp. 225-257 from Eleventh Annual Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, 1878); American Naturalist, Salem, Mass., 1872, Vol. VI., p. 147, and 1873, Vol. VII., pp. 204-09; Primitive Industry: or Illustrations of the Handiwork, in Stone, Bone and Clay, of the Native Races of The Northern Atlantic Seaboard of America, by Charles C. Abbott, M. D., Salem, Mass., 1881. In this handsome octavo volume of 560 pages Dr. Abbott gives fuller details of his discoveries of the relics of palæolithic man in New Jersey. See also "The Argillite Implements Found in the Gravels of Delaware River," by H. W. Haynes, in Proceedings Boston Society of Natural History, January, 1881, and other papers in the same Proceedings, and in the American Antiquarian, Vol. VI., p. 137, and Vol. X., p. 125; in Science, Vol. IV., pp. 469, 522, by Haynes, Prof. J. D. Whitney, Lucien Carr, Prof. F. W. Putnam, Prof. H. Carvill Lewis and others. "There is much to be said in favor of the theory that the Eskimos of the north are the lineal descendants of the pre-glacial men whose implements are found in New Jersey, Ohio and Minnesota."—*Wright*, "The Ice Age in North America," p. 388. See also Abbott, in Science, 1883, Vol. I., 359, and Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Vol. XXXVII.

¹ Haeckel's view is that the human race was first developed on a now sunken continent in the Indian Ocean, which he calls "Lemuria;" thence issued in successive migration the first few races, as they were developed, spreading over the earth. Among these were the Mongols, occupying all of Asia, except India, and also extending into Northern Europe (the Finns, whence, according to other writers, the Finnians or Fenians, the primitive inhabitants of Ireland); from the Mongols issued the Hyperboreans of Northwestern Asia and the Eskimos of the Arctic regions of North America (No. 8 in the scale), and from the Eskimos there issued (No. 9) the Americans.—*History of Creation*, New York, 1876, Vol. II., frontispiece.

² First Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1877, pp. 95-8.

³ Essays of an Americanist, by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 53.

showing that the primitive dwellers on the Delaware had not even reached that stage of civilization when the bow and arrow were known to them,¹ whence F. W. Putnam infers that these men belonged to a race distinct in type from the Eskimos,² and earlier than they. It is evident that here we are getting back into a remote antiquity. Whoever were the fashioners of these rude stone implements, it is certain that they must have fished and hunted south of the Glacier border while the whole country north of them was covered with an ice sheet. How long ago was that? Not less than ten thousand years. Perhaps a thousand centuries.³ Contrary to the rule of human progress there is an abrupt transition in the Trenton gravel, from the rude argillite implements of the palæolithic man to the skillfully-chipped flint arrow-heads of the neolithic period. Were the older people exterminated by the mighty glacial floods? Or, were they driven away by the later comers? Perhaps they

¹ "The Bow and Arrow Unknown to Palæolithic Man," by H. W. Haynes, in *Proceedings Boston Society of Natural History*, Vol. XXIII.

² Wright's "The Ice Age in North America," 569. It has been conjectured from the inferior maxillary bones found in caves in France that Palæolithic man was speechless, but the latest investigators do not believe this.

³ In the *Smithsonian Report for 1868*, p. 33, Prof. Henry quoted with sympathetic approval the sentiments of the Bishop of London, uttered in a lecture at Edinburgh: "The man of science should go on honestly, patiently, diffidently, observing and storing up his observations, and carrying his reasonings unflinchingly to their legitimate conclusions, convinced that it would be treason to the majesty at once of science and of religion, if he sought to help either by swerving ever so little from the straight line of truth." Many Biblical scholars believe that the chronology of Archbishop Usher, which has been printed in the margins of the Bible for the last two centuries (taken from his "Annals of the World," 1658), and which foots up 4,004 years as the precise age of the world to the time of Christ, is based on an erroneous interpretation of the patriarchal genealogies, which related to the founding of tribes or nations, instead of to the lives of individuals. The subject has been fully treated in this light by the Duke of Argyll, in "Primeval Man," pp. 91, *et seq.*; by Prof William Henry Green, of Princeton Theological Seminary, in numerous articles in periodicals, and by other competent authorities. See Lange's Commentary on Genesis, New York, 1869, p. 346; "The Prophets of Israel," etc., by W. Robertson Smith, New York, 1882, pp. 147-9, 402. See also Geikie's "Hours with the Bible," New York, 1885, Vol. I., pp. 83-7.

had retreated with the Glacier centuries before their successors arrived on the scene. Certain it is, that this primitive people who hunted and fished in New Jersey during and before the existence of "Lake Passaic," and who often gazed with simple awe upon the mighty cataract which we call the Passaic Falls,¹ had vanished from this neighborhood ages before the first white man set foot on our shores. It may be that he has left unsuspected traces behind him, and that the industrious explorer will find in the valley of the Passaic relics of this forgotten race, such as have rewarded the search in the Delaware drift.

The same scientific method which has been applied of late years to the gathering of the facts concerning the geological history of the earth, and the manners and customs of primitive man, has been more recently devoted to the study of the American races. One result has been to dismiss as unworthy of consideration all the fanciful hypotheses which traced affiliations between the peoples of the eastern and western continents. Most modern scientists agree with the Marquis de Nadaillac: "The present peoples of America, like those of Europe, are the issue of the intermixture of several races. The crossings are true modifications of fundamental types. The men of the primitive races have resisted these modifications; they have not yet completely disappeared, and in spite of variations from one extreme to the other, an attentive study frequently enables us to recognize a predominant type."² "Doubtless, as with the ancient races of Europe, those of America were made up of diverse elements, of different varieties. A primeval dolichocephalic race appears in the first instance to have invaded the vast regions included between the two oceans. The men of this race were contemporary with the huge pachydermal and edentate animals; and, as did their contemporaries in

¹ "In former days, long before the sublime and stupendous Falls of Niagara became a place of fashionable resort, the Red Men would draw near to this awful cataract with timid steps, invoking most solemnly the Mighty Spirit which they imagined must certainly reside there."—*The Outlines of Primitive Superstitions*, etc., by Rushton M. Dorman, Philadelphia, 1881, p. 300.

² *Pre-Historic America*, London, 1885, p. 480.

Europe, they passed through the various phases of the Stone Age. Other races arrived in successive migrations, the first of which doubtless dated from very remote ages, and brought about, amongst the ancient inhabitants of America, modifications, analogous to those produced in Europe by similar migrations."¹

As that most accomplished investigator, Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, says: "Anyone at all intimately conversant with the progress of American archæology in the last twenty years must see how rapidly has grown the conviction that American culture was homebred, to the manor born: that it was wholly indigenous and had borrowed nothing—nothing, from either Europe, Asia or Africa. The peculiarities of native American culture are typical, and extend throughout the continent."²

In his excellent work on the Primitive Superstitions of the American Aborigines, Dorman expresses the same opinion: "American agriculture was indigenous. This is proved by the fact that grains of the Old World were absent, and its agriculture was founded on the maize, an American plant. Their agriculture and their architecture show an indigenous origin of their civilization, as does also their mythology. * * * Fear is the prevailing religious sentiment among all the tribes of America. Religion did not have much moral influence toward ennobling hearts or humanizing manners, but merely excited emotions of fear and increased fanaticism. Prayers were offered for material things, but touched not morals. Among the savage tribes we find very little evidence, if any, of a moral sentiment."³

¹ *Ib.*, 516. In a paper "On the Origin of the Indian Population of America," by B. H. Coates, M. D., read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April 28, 1834, the learned author anticipated, although with far less knowledge of the subject than we possess to-day, the conclusion of scholars half a century later than his time: "The inference which most commands our confidence, is, that America, like other sections of the world, was peopled from several sources; and that this was effected by numerous colonies, and in an antiquity so remote as to precede the records of history, the invention of most domestic mechanic arts, and the formation of widely diffused languages."—See *Memoirs Hist. Soc. Penn.*, Vol. III., Part II., p. 38.

² *Essays of an Americanist*, 60.

³ Dorman, as cited, pp. 387, 390.

Speaking of the Mexican and Central American ruins, Baldwin says: "The more we study them, the more we find it necessary to believe that the civilization they represent was originated in America, and probably in the region where they are found. It did not come from the Old World. * * * The culture and the work were wholly original, wholly American."¹

Much has been written of supposed physiological resemblances between the Americans and other races, but on this subject Dr. Brinton may be again quoted: "The anatomy and physiology of the various American tribes present, indeed, great diversity, and yet, beneath it all is a really remarkable fixedness of type. * * * These variations are not greater than can be adduced in various members of the white or black race. In spite of them all, there is a wonderful family likeness among the tribes of American origin. No observer well acquainted with the type would err in taking it for another. * * * We reach therefore the momentous conclusion that the American race throughout the whole continent, and from its earliest appearance in time, is and has been *one*, as distinct in type as any other race, and from its isolation probably the purest of all in its racial traits."²

Another writer, in concluding an able paper on the Astronomy of the Red Man, says: "Inquiry into the astronomical knowledge of the Red Men, their arithmetic, division of time, names of months and days, shows that their whole system was most peculiar; and if not absolutely original, must antedate all historic times, since it has no parallel on record. * * * Assuredly, the astronomical knowledge of the aboriginal Americans was of domestic origin; and any of the few seeming points of seeming contact with the calendars of the old world, if not accidental must have taken place at an exceedingly remote period of time. In fact, whatever may have come from the old world was engrafted upon a system itself still older than the exotic shoots."³

¹ Ancient America, by John D. Baldwin, New York, 1872, pp. 184-5.

² Essays of an Americanist, pp. 39-40.

³ "Some account of the Astronomy of the Red Man of the New World," etc., by William Bollaert, in Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London, 1863-4, London, 1865, Vol. I., p. 278.

Says that eminent scholar, Prof. Reville: "The social and religious development of Central America was in the strictest sense native and original, and all attempts to bring it into connection with a supposed earlier intercourse with Asia or Europe have failed."¹

The most civilized nations of to-day point to their high development in language and literature as the most striking evidence of their progress in culture. Compilers of grammars always take the verb "love" as the best example of a regular conjugation, from which it has been inferred by some scholars that the word has acquired the regular form because it represents a great elevation in the human soul, and a perfect attainment in expressing the emotions. But the language of the Klamath or Modoc Indians of Oregon conjugates the verb in three persons and numbers with all the finest shades of meaning known to the Greek grammar,² and Dr. Brinton has shown from a comparison of several American with European languages that in them all, the words used to express the conception of love are based upon the same fundamental notions. "They thus reveal the parallel paths which the human mind everywhere pursued in giving articulate expression to the passions and emotions of the soul. In this sense there is a oneness in all languages, which speaks conclusively for the oneness in the sentient and intellectual attributes of the species."³

The quotations cited are the conclusions reached by ripe scholars after careful study, in the scientific spirit and method, of the American races—their physical characteristics, their languages, legends, myths, astronomy, manners and customs. Examined in this way, the legend of Ta-oun-ya-wa-tha, so musically related by Longfellow, loses some of its picturesqueness, perhaps, but the character of that hero stands out boldly as one of the noblest statesmen the world ever saw. Where before his time did man ever

¹ Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Native Religions of Mexico and Peru (Hibbert Lectures, 1884), by Albert Reville, D. D., of the College of France; London, 1884, p. 11.

² Grammar and Dictionary of the Klamath Language, by Albert S. Gatschet, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1892.

³ Essays of an Americanist, 431.

dream of a confederation which should embrace all the nations of the earth in one mighty republic, and thus do away with war forevermore? This was the dream of Hiawatha, and by his nobility of character, his self-sacrificing devotion, his energy and shrewdness, he established the Iroquois Confederation of Five Nations, which has maintained its existence for more than four centuries, and in the Council of which the name of Hiawatha is still preserved as one of the original members. Here in the wilds of America, forty years before Columbus saw the new continent, was thus founded one of the first and purest republics on the face of the earth.¹ No wonder that the story of his life appeals to our tenderest emotions as we read the "Song of Hiawatha :"

How he prayed and how he fasted,
How he lived, and toiled, and suffered,
That the tribes of men might prosper,
That he might advance his people.

Thus, too, the innumerable legends of Michabo or Manibozho resolve themselves into a Light-myth: "Michabo, giver of life and light, creator and preserver, is no apotheosis of a prudent chieftain, still less the fabrication of an idle fancy or a designing priestcraft, but in origin, deeds, and name the not unworthy personification of the purest conceptions they possessed concerning the Father of All.

¹ "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," by L. H. Morgan (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge), p. 151; "The Iroquois Book of Rites," by Horatio Hale, Philadelphia, 1883, pp. 21 et seqq. The name Hiawatha is rendered by Hale "he who seeks the wampum belt;" by L. H. Morgan, "He who combs," and by Albert Cusick (a living Indian), "One who looks for his mind, which he has lost, but knows where to find it." This suggests the persistence of purpose which Mr. Hale ascribes to him.—*The Iroquois Trail*, by W. M. Beauchamp, S. T. D., Fayetteville, N. Y., 1892, p. 67. "Like similar Iroquois names the final syllables are pronounced *wat-ha* by the Indians, and by the Onondagas it is commonly called *Hi-e-wat-ha*."—*Id.*, 137. Beauchamp does not think this "Lawgiver of the Stone Age" lived much before 1600.—*Id.*, 138; *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, IV., 295-307. Dr. Brinton and most Americanists preferably accept what Morgan and Hale say about the Iroquois. The most popular account of Hiawatha is that given by Henry R. Schoolcraft, in "Alcic Researches," 1839, and in "The Myth of Hiawatha," etc., Philadelphia, 1856; it was from this account, confusing Hiawatha with the myth-god Michabo, that Longfellow drew his material for his beautiful poem.

To Him at early dawn the Indian stretched forth his hands in prayer; and to the sky or the sun as his homes, he first pointed the pipe in his ceremonies, rites often misinterpreted by travellers as indicative of sun worship." ¹ Michabo was the Great Light, or the Great White One, ² born of a virgin mother. ³ Was this so very different from the worship of the ancient Aryans, who prayed to the Sky-Father—Dyu patar—Dyaush-pitar—Jupiter? ⁴ Moreover, we are told that Michabo was one of four brothers—Wabun, Kabun, Kabibonokka and Shawans—the East, West, North and South, and the winds blowing from those cardinal points. Among the most diverse of the American races similar legends are preserved, evidently relating to the four points of the compass, and the unceasing warfare between the Sun and Moon, Light and Darkness, Good and Evil. ⁵ The vague and pathetic stories that are handed down from age to age, of the time when their people had a great prophet, a white man, with a long beard, who has promised to come again and restore that mythical golden age to which all races fondly look back, are only variations of the same Light-myth, possibly modified by some historic basis of truth, which may even have been derived from a vanished race. The tales of the miraculous conception of the Light, and even of an immaculate conception, which horrified the early European missionary priests, and the figure of the cross, so often found carved on the massive

¹ Myths of the New World, etc., by Daniel G. Brinton, M. D., New York, 1868, p. 169; American Hero-Myths, by Daniel G. Brinton, M. D., Philadelphia, 1882, pp. 38, 41; "Iroquois Book of Rites," 36.

² In Algonkin, *michi*, great; *wabos*, hare. Whence, the Great Rabbit or Hare; but the root *wab* yields the words *wabi*, *wape*, *wompi*, *waubish*, *oppai*, dialectic forms for "white"; the same root yields other words for morning, east, dawn, light, etc.—*Myths of the New World*, 165.

³ *Ib.*, 166.

⁴ Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India (Hibbert Lectures, 1878), by F. Max Muller, New York, 1879, pp. 138, 209. "We, too, feeling once more like children, kneeling in a small dark room, can hardly find a better name than: 'Our Father, which art in Heaven.'"—*Ib.*, 209. History of the People of Israel, by Ernest Renan, Boston, 1888, p. 40.

⁵ Brinton and Dorman, *passim*; Reville, 38.

stone buildings of the Mayas, the Aztecs, and other Central American nations, and frequently depicted by the rude Indian of the north on his buffalo robe or on prominent rocks, are all very reasonably ascribed to the same widespread cult among the natives of this continent.¹

¹ Brinton, as cited; *The Religious Sentiment*, by D. G. Brinton, New York, 1876, pp. 62-72; Reville, as cited, 38, 65-9, 204. Dorman, however, insists that Manabozho is the deification of some former distinguished ancestor.—*Primitive Superstitions*, 82. This is improbable. Of late years there has arisen a school of writers who are imbued with a single idea, and would have us believe that all the symbolism in every religion, ancient and modern, in the Old World, and the New, in the tropics and in the coldest climates, has but one meaning, which is expressed in India by the ling-yoni; in Ireland by the famous round towers and the Irish cross; in Egypt by the pyramids; in Mexico by the pyramidal teocallis and the calendar stone; in Central America by the stone cross and the image of Centeotl (the Goddess of Agriculture, holding in her arms an infant, the male Centeotl, the maize); in North America by the snake dance and sundry totems; by the sacred "groves" of Palestine, Assyria, and Chaldea; by the "garter" which formed the occasion for the motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; by the brazen serpent in the Wilderness, and the rod of Aaron; by the Druid circles at Stonehenge and elsewhere; by the priest's stole and his chasuble; by the campanili of Italy, and the spires of modern Christian churches—in short, by every object in nature and art to which a lively, not to say prurient, fancy can impart a questionable significance. See *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*, by Thomas Inman, M. D., New York, 1884; *Primitive Symbolism*, etc., by Hodder M. Westropp, London, 1885; *Crux Ansata*, etc., London (privately printed), 1889; *Cultus Arborum* (Tree Worship), etc., privately printed, 1890; *Serpent and Siva Worship and Mythology*, by Hyde Clark and C. Staniland Wake, New York, 1877; *Serpent Worship*, etc., by C. Staniland Wake, London, 1888; *The Rosicrucians, Their Rites and Mysteries*, etc., by Hargrave Jennings, London, 1879. Some of these writers combine great industry in the collection of facts with a marvelous credulity and riotous imagination in the interpretation of them. There is no sense in seeking a far-fetched explanation for an object or a rite when a more obvious, simple meaning is at hand. In that amusing and interesting work, "*Sacred Mysteries among the Mayas and Quiches*, 11,500 years ago, their relations to the sacred mysteries of Egypt, Greece, Chaldea and India; *Free Masonry in Times Anterior to the Temple of Solomon*," by August Le Plongeon, New York, 1886, the writer gravely asks us to believe that the asp figured in Egyptian sculpture on the heads of the royal family, was so worn because when distended in anger its body took the shape of the isthmus of Yucatan, where lived the Mayas, whom he assumes to have been ancient relatives of the Egyptians!

The similarity that exists between the races of the Old World and the New, in respect to the character of their stone implements, their pottery and architecture, their social customs and their religious myths, are explained by the parallelism in the development of mankind. The inhabitants of neither hemisphere borrowed from the other. The civilization of America was developed on independent lines. So were the American languages. This proves that the first races on this Continent must have separated from the primitive stock at a very early period. But the fact that the development was so similar in character proves likewise that the Americans had the same physiological and mental structure as their European relatives, and is additional evidence of the truth of Paul's declaration, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." As Roger Williams quaintly puts it, "More particular :"

Boast not proud English, of thy birth and blood
Thy Brother Indian is by birth as Good.
Of one blood God made Him, and Thee, and All.
As wise, as faire, as strong, as personall.¹

When the whites came to America they found that one great family of Indian nations—the Algonkins²—occupied

¹ A Key into the Languages of America, etc., by Roger Williams, London, 1643; reprinted, Providence (R. I.), 1827, p. 61. The writer concludes each chapter with some verse, having a pious application, under the head "More particular."

² "The term Algonkin may be a corruption of *ägameegwin*, people of the other shore."—Brinton, "Myths of the New World," p. 27, note. The Narragansett Indians spoke of England or Europe as *Acaumenoa-kil*, "from the land on the other side."—Roger Williams, as cited, p. 28. This would correspond with the Cree *akamik*, from the other side of the water. But may it not be derived from the Cree root *kona* (k being substituted for g), French *neige*, snow; and *kiwikuw*, French *il est errant*, sans residence, or homeless, referring to the wanderings of this people in the frozen regions of the far North? The Algonkins collectively were called by the nations west, north and south by the name of *Wapanackki*, *Apenaki*, *Openagi*, *Abenakis* or *Abenakis*, "Eastlanders," a name still retained by a small tribe in Maine. The word comes from the Cree root *wab*, white, whence *wapan*, dawn or day, *wapanok*, at or from the east. The Delawares in the far West still retain a tradition of the ancient confederate name, and speak of themselves as *O-puh-narke*. See Brinton's *Lenapé*, pp. 19, 256; Lacombe's *Dictionnaire de la Langue des*

the country from frozen Labrador to sunny Savannah, and from the shores swept by the Atlantic's surges to the snow-capped Rocky Mountains. The only exception to this undisputed sway was the territory occupied by the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in Central and Northern New York, and southerly along the Susquehanna valley to Virginia. Among the innumerable independent nations of the Algonkins was one which its members proudly called the *Lenâpé*, or *Lenni Lenâpé* ¹ — "our men," ² "Indian men," ³ "the Indians of our tribe or nation," ⁴ "the original or pure Indian." ⁵ The Lenâpé occupied most of New Jersey—at least the southern part, which they called *Scheyehbi* ⁶ (pro-

Cris, sub voce; Heckewelder, p. xli; Lenâpé-English Dictionary, sub voce.

¹ *Lenâpé* is pronounced Len-ah-pay, the accent on the second syllable, which has a nasal inflection. See "The Lenâpé and their Legends," by Daniel G. Brinton, M. D., Philadelphia, 1885, p. 35; "On Algonkin Names for Man," by J. Hammond Trumbull (From the Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1871), p. 9.

² Brinton, as just cited, p. 33.

³ History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America, by George Henry Loskiel, translated from the German by Christian Ignatius La Trobe, London, 1794, p. 2.

⁴ Trumbull, as just cited. The phrase "our Indians" is used in the early Pennsylvania records in such connection as to suggest that it is a translation of the Indian *Lenâpé*. It is first used in 1690; again in 1694 and in 1712.—*Penn. Col. Records*, I., 334, 436; II., 557. In 1693 a delegation of these same Indians declared: "although wee are a small number of Indians, yet wee are men & know fighting;" the word "men" here appears to be a translation also. They were called "Delawares" as early as 1694, and again in 1709, 1712, 1715, by which time the name had evidently become established.—*Ib.*, I., 447; II., 469, 510, 546, 557, 599, 603. In 1712 the Delawares were also called "Our Nation."—*Ib.*, II., 559. In 1728, in one paper Gov. Patrick Gordon, of Pennsylvania, refers to them as "our Indians," and as "Our Lenappys or Delaware Indians."—*Penn. Archives*, I., 230. They still use the name *Lenâpé*.—*Morgan's Systems of Consanguinity*, p. 289.

⁵ A Lenâpé-English Dictionary, edited by Daniel G. Brinton and the Rev. Albert Sequakind Anthony, Philadelphia, 1888, p. 63; A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States, etc., by Albert Gallatin, in Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, Cambridge, 1836, Vol. II., p. 44.

⁶ An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of The Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States,

nounced Shay-ak-bee), "long land water;" probably referring to the waters enclosing the Southern peninsula of the State.¹ It is improbable that the Indians had any general name for the whole territory now known as New Jersey, and it is quite likely that *Scheyechbi* merely designated the shore of the Delaware Bay.

Whence came the Lenapé? When did they first occupy New Jersey? Questions more easily asked than answered. As already remarked, they were one of the many nations belonging to the great Algonkin stock. This is shown by the similarity in physical structure, in language, customs, religious cults and myths, their agriculture, pipes and implements. Many modern scientists incline to the belief that the language spoken by the Crees (inhabiting the southern shores of Hudson's Bay) has probably preserved most fully the characteristics of the parent language in use among the common ancestors of all the Algonkin nations.² The migration legends of the Lenapé apparently indicate a northern origin of their nation, although it has been commonly interpreted otherwise. Their people, they say, resided many hundred years ago in the far West. Resolving to migrate eastward, they came, after many years, to the *Namaesi Sipu*,³ where they fell in with the *Mengwe*,⁴ who had likewise emigrated from a distant

by the Rev. John Heckewelder, in Transactions of the Historical & Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, etc., Philadelphia, 1819, Vol. I., p. 32; reprinted as Vol. XII of Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with introduction and notes by the Rev. William C. Reichel, Philadelphia, 1876, p. 51. The references hereafter to Heckewelder will be to the latter edition. This devoted Moravian Missionary spent most of his life, from 1771 to 1810, as an evangelist among the Indians, especially among the Delawares and Monseys.

¹ The Lenapé and their Legends, 40.

² *Ib.*, p. 10.

³ Heckewelder interprets this to be the Mississippi, or fish river. The name might be applied with equal propriety to most rivers. The Creeks called the Mississippi *Wookufke*, muddy-water, from *uuv*, water, and *okufke*, muddy.—Brinton, "The National Legend of the Chahta-Muskokee Tribe," *Morrisania*, N. Y., 1870, p. 10.

⁴ The Iroquois and the Five or Six Nations were called *Mengwes* or *Mingoes* by the Delawares.

country, and had struck this river higher up. The region east of the river was inhabited by a warlike people, who had many large fortified towns. These people called themselves *Talligcu* or *Talligewi*.¹ They refused to permit the Lenapé to settle among them, but allowed them to pass through their country to the East. However, when they saw the many thousands of the Lenapé they took alarm and made war on them. After many years of contest, the Talligewi abandoned their country, and retreated to the South. The Lenapé and the Mengwe occupied the country for hundreds of years, gradually spreading out, till in time the former migrated, in small bodies, further South, and finally settled in New Jersey and along the Delaware river² and bay. Such is the legend as gathered by Heckewelder from the Lenapé themselves.³

In 1822 the eccentric Rafinesque procured in Kentucky an original Lenapé record, pictured on wood, giving some primitive legends of that people. This record is called the *Walam Olum*, or Red Score, from the fact that it was doubtless painted in red on wood or prepared bark, whence it has been sometimes called the Bark Record. The original is not known to exist. What is preserved is a manuscript copy made in 1833 by Rafinesque. Of this, imperfect extracts have been frequently printed, but the first accurate reproduction—figures and text—was published in 1885 by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, under the title: "The Lenâpé and their Legends; with the Complete Text and Symbols of the Walam Olum." After describing the creation, the record goes on to say:

1. Pehella wtenk lennapewi tulapewini psakwiken woli-wikgun wittank talli.

After the rushing waters (had subsided) the Lenape of the turtle [clan] were close together, in hollow houses, living together there.

¹ The Tsalaki or Cherokees, the letters *l* and *r* being frequently interchanged in Indian tongues, and especially among different tribes of the Delawares.

² Called by the Delawares or Lenapé the *Lenapewihittuck*, "the rapid stream of the Lenapé."

³ Heckewelder, pp. 47-51.

2. Topan-akpinep, wineu-akpinep, kshakan-akpinep,
thupin-akpinep.

It freezes where they abode, it snows where they
abode, it storms where they abode, it is cold where
they abode.

8. Wemiako yagawan tendki lakkawelendam nakopowa
wemi owenluen atam.

All the cabin fires of that land were disquieted,
and all said to their priest, "Let us go."

17. Wulelemil w' shakuppek,
Wemopannek hakshinipek,
Kitahikan pokhakhopek.

On the wonderful, slippery water,
On the stone-hard (icy) water all went,
On the great Tidal Sea, the mussel-bearing sea.

20. Wemipayat gunéunga shinaking,
Wunkenapi chanelendam payaking,
Allowelendam kowiyeyp tulpaking.

They all come, they tarry at the land of the spruce
pines ;

Those from the west come with hesitation,
Esteeming highly their old home at the Turtle
land.

And so the record goes on to say :

"Long ago the fathers of the Lenâpé were at the
land of spruce pines."

A long succession of Chiefs (Sakimas) followed : Beautiful Head, White Owl, Keeping-Guard, and Snow Bird, "who spoke of the South, that our fathers should possess it by scattering abroad." Then many more Chiefs (each probably representing a period of twenty-five years), among them Tally-Maker, "who made records ;" and Corn Breaker, "who brought about the planting of corn." From time to time southern and eastern migrations are noted ; then the war with the Talligewi, "who possessed the east ;" then, "all the Talega go south ;" "they stay south of the lakes." The Lenape spread south and east to the seashore, winning their way by frequent wars.¹

¹ The Lenape and their Legends, pp. 181-217.

Dr. Brinton thus summarizes the narrative of the Walam Olum : At some remote period the ancestors of the Lenapé dwelt probably at Labrador. They journeyed south and west to the St. Lawrence, near Lake Ontario. Next they dwelt for some generations in the pine and hemlock regions of New York, fighting often with the Snake people, and the Talega, agricultural nations, living in fortified towns, in Ohio and Indiana. They drove out the former, but the latter remained on the Upper Ohio and its branches. The Lenape, now settled on the streams in Indiana, wished to remove to the East to join the Mohegans and others of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. So they united with the Hurons to drive out the Talega from the Upper Ohio, which was not fully accomplished for many centuries, some Cherokees lingering along there as late as 1730.¹ Other writers think the Lenape migrated from the woody region—*Shinaking*—"land of the spruce pines," or "fir trees"—north of Lake Superior, and crossed the Detroit river—*Messu-sipi*, or "Great River"—and so came into Northern Ohio.³

¹ *Ib.*, 165.

² In the Delaware *mechen*, big, large; or *macheu*, great. The guttural *ch* is softened to *ss*. In the Cree, *misaw* (inanimate form), great.

³ Horatio Hale, in *American Antiquarian*, 1883, p. 117. Prof. Cyrus Thomas regards these migration legends of the Lenape as strongly confirmatory of his theory that at least part of the ten thousand mounds in Ohio and part of the thousands in adjacent States were built by the Cherokees (the Tallega or Tallegewi), whose territory was invaded *via* Northern Ohio by the Lenape and the Hurons, by whom they were finally driven southward, where (in Georgia, at least) they still built mounds in the sixteenth century. See articles by Prof. Thomas: "The Cherokees probably Mound-Builders," in *Fifth Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883-4, pp. 87-109; "Cherokees probably Mound-Builders," in *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XI., 1884, pp. 396-407; "The Problem of the Ohio Mounds," *U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1889. In an admirable paper by Judge M. F. Force, "Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio. To what Race did the Mound-Builders Belong?" Cincinnati, 1879, the writer inclines to the view that the Mound Builders were attacked by invading tribes from the northwest, and concludes that they were flourishing about a thousand years ago, and earlier and later. In David Cusick's "Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations," etc., Lockport, N. Y., 1848, he says (p. 19) it was perhaps about 2,200 years before Columbus discovered America that the northern Indians "almost penetrated the Lake Erie," and that the ensuing wars lasted about 100 years.

It is not to be expected that we shall ever determine the periods of the successive wanderings and sojournings of the Lenape in the course of their migration south and east. Allowing twenty-five years as the average life of each Chief, we would have five hundred years as elapsing from the time the nation set out on their southward journey till they acquired the art of planting corn; about five hundred years more ere they reached the upper St. Lawrence, and encountered the Talligewi; about seven hundred years more when they reached the "great sea," the "Mighty Water;" one hundred and fifty years more, when "the whites came on the Eastern sea;" about three hundred years more, when "from north and south, the whites came." Here we have a total of two thousand one hundred and fifty years as covering the whole period of the migrations of this people. The more adventurous spirits were of course always pushing on ahead of the great body of the nation. From the crude data at hand, and making due allowance for the deliberation with which an entire nation must have moved, it is probable that the advance guard of the Lenape reached New Jersey at least as early as the eighth or ninth century, or one thousand years ago.¹

On the other hand, the testimony of archæology demands a far greater antiquity to account for the innumerable traces of primitive human habitation within the bounds of *Scheyechbi*. All along the New Jersey shore are shell-heaps, refuse thrown up by the aboriginal villagers through unknown centuries. Some of them have accumulated on the fast ground, but are now several feet below the ocean level, in swamps, and in some instances covered with earth to a depth of six feet. Estimating that the New Jersey coast is subsiding at the rate of two feet in a century, as calculated by Prof. Cook, the evidence is strong that the beginnings of these shell-heaps must date back far beyond a thousand years, and that

¹ The Cherokees had a tradition in 1669-70 that they reached Georgia more than four hundred years before, which would be about the close of the twelfth or the early part of the thirteenth century.—*Discoveries, &c.*, by John Lederer, London, 1672, quoted by Thomas in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, as cited above. This would allow them four or five hundred years to make their way gradually South, after their first encounter with the Lenape.

the aborigines must have occupied this land long before they began to throw up these piles of kitchen refuse so systematically.¹ But there are no signs that any race since palæolithic man has inhabited New Jersey other than the Indians whom the whites found here, and so it is very probable that David Cusick's vague tradition of the period of the encounter of the Northern Indians with the Tallegewi is nearer the truth than the estimate based on the imperfect record of chiefly successions of the Lenapé, and that it was "perhaps about two thousand two hundred years before the Columbus discovered the America,"² that the Northern nations began their migration to the South and East, and hence fully three thousand years since the Lenapé saw the shining sea, from *Scheyechbi*.

Whatever the wanderers may have learned from their long contact with the Tallegewi there is no indication that they ever patterned after them in the building of mounds, for none have been found in New Jersey. It is possible that some terraces supposed to be of natural origin may prove to be the handiwork of man. But there is no reason to believe that the Lenapé ever reached that stage of development when it would have been possible for them to have organized, disciplined and supported an industrial force capable of constructing such vast mounds as are scattered over the prairies of the West.

The earliest white travelers in this part of the country looked upon the natives as simply savages, but little different from the wild beasts whose skins they wore. Hence they did not trouble themselves to study their institutions, religion, mythology or traditions. That has been done of late years better than was possible then. However, for descriptions of the actual manners and customs of the people, as far as they were obvious to the casual observer, the accounts given by the first visitors to these shores are of value. So we read that the Indians of New Jersey (and the same was true of the aborigines generally) were well built and strong, with broad shoulders

¹ Abbott's *Primitive Industry*, as cited, pp. 448-450.

² Cusick's *Six Nations*, as cited, p. 19.

and small waists; dark eyes, snow-white teeth,¹ coarse, black hair, of which the men left but a single tuft (scalp lock) on the top of the head, convenient for an enemy's scalping knife, and which the women thrust into a bag behind. There were few or none cross-eyed, blind, crippled, or deformed.² "They preserved their Skins smooth by anointing them with the Oyl of Fishes, the fat of Eagles, and the grease of Rackoons, which they hold in the Summer the best antidote to keep their skins from blistering by the scorching Sun, and their best Armour against the Musketto's * * * and stopper of the Pores of their Bodies against the Winter's cold."³

The men painted or stained their bodies, using colors extracted from plants or finely-crushed stones, or found along the seashore.⁴ The women, not having the advantage of Christian training, and being therefore less wise than their white sisters, were wont to paint their faces; and in general they adorned themselves more than did the men, for a proud squaw⁵ would sometimes display her charms set off

¹ The New and Unknown World, or Description of America and the Southland, by Arnoldus Montanus, Amsterdam, 1671, reprinted in N. Y. Documentary History, Vol. IV., 76.

² Wassenaer's Historie van Europa, Amsterdam, 1621-32, reprinted in N. Y. Documentary History, Vol. III., 22.

³ A two Years Journal in New-York, etc., by C[harles] W[olley], London, 1701; reprinted, New York, 1860, p. 28. Mr. Wolley was Chaplain in the Fort at New York, 1678-80.

⁴ A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden, etc., by Thomas Campanius Holm, translated from the Swedish by Peter S. du Ponceau, and published in Memoirs Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1834, Vol. III., Part I., p. 119. History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America, by George Henry Loskiel, translated by Christian Ignatius La Trobe, London, 1794, p. 48. Loskiel's book is a record of the Moravian mission work among the Indians, 1735-87. Although written in Germany, it presents the best and fullest account we have of the Delaware Indians, having been compiled with great care from the reports of the pious missionary, David Zeisberger, transmitted by him to the head of the Moravian church, at Herrnhut, Germany.

⁵ In the Lenape language the word for woman is *ochqueu*, pronounced *och-quay-oo*, or, by softening the guttural, *os-quay-oo*, which was readily modified into *squa* or *squaw*. *Kik-ochqueu*, a single woman; *kik-ochqueu*, an elderly woman; *wuskiochque*, a young woman; *och-*

by a petticoat ornamented with beads to the value of one hundred dollars or more.¹

As they lived mainly by hunting or by fishing, their huts or wigwams² were temporary structures, which could be moved or abandoned as occasion or convenience required, ³ a practice which militated against the development of permanent buildings of durable materials, and also against the cultivation of orchards.⁴ Unlike the Iroquois, the New Jersey Indians did not commonly build large wigwams or "long houses" for several families, but merely small huts for a single family.⁵ As William Penn wrote, in 1683:

queunk, of a woman; *wilawiochqueu*, a rich woman. See Zeisberger's Indian Dictionary, English, German, Iroquois (the Onondaga) and Algonquin (the Delaware), printed from the Original Manuscript in Harvard College Library, Cambridge, 1887; A Lenapé-English Dictionary, as cited. The Cree root is *iskw*, whence *iskwew* (or *iskwayoo*), woman; *oskiskwew*, a young woman.

¹ Montanus, 76, 80; Heckewelder, 203.

² As might be expected of an idea necessarily universal among the Indians, the Algonkins nearly everywhere used the same word for "house." Zeisberger gives it as *wikwam*, pronounced week-wawm, in his grammar, and *wiquoam* (pronounced the same) in his dictionary of the Delaware or Lenape language. It is given as *wighwam*, in the "Indian Interpreter," a sort of trader's jargon, compiled in 1684 for the use of the whites in Southern New Jersey in their intercourse with the Indians, and recorded in the Salem Town Records, Liber B, in the Secretary of State's office, Trenton. There are 237 words entered in this book, evidently written by an Englishman, therefore the letters must be given their English sounds. The list is published in the American Historical Record, Vol. I., 1872, pp. 308-11. The same word is used by the Chippeways north of Lake Superior, at this day. The Cree root is *wiki*, "his house;" whence *wikiw*, the house.

³ Representation of New Netherland (1649), translated by Henry C. Murphy, New York, 1849, p. 20; Remonstrance of New Netherland [the same work], translated by E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D., Albany, 1856, p. 14; Roger Williams's "Key," p. 53.

⁴ Loskiel, p. 71.

⁵ Loskiel, p. 53. Dr. Brinton says of the Algonkin tribes: "we do not find among them the same communal life as among the Iroquois. Only rarely do we encounter the 'long house,' occupied by a number of kindred families. Among the Lenápes, for example, this was entirely unknown, each married couple having its own residence."—*The American Race*, by Daniel G. Brinton, A. M., M. D., New York, 1891, p. 76. In his valuable work, "The Houses and House-Life of the American

"Their Houses are Mats, or Barks of Trees, set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a man ; they lie on Reeds or Grass."¹ Sometimes young trees would be bent down toward a common centre and the branches interlaced and fastened together as a framework, and covered with bark, ² so closely laid on as to be very warm and rain-proof. ³ Others would construct a circular, wattled hut, with either angular or rounded top, thatched and lined with mats woven of the long leaves of the Indian corn, or with rushes or long reed-grass, or the stalk of the sweet-flag, a vent-hole in the top serving for the escape of smoke.⁴ Some would take the trouble to dig a pit, two or three feet deep, then erect their hut within, and pack the earth tightly around on the outside. If very particular, they would cover the floor with wood,⁵ but usually they slept on skins or

Aborigines" (Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. IV.), the late Lewis H. Morgan concluded that during the Older Period and the Middle Period of barbarism, as represented, the former by the Indians of this part of the country, and the latter by the Aztecs, "the family was too weak an organization to face alone the struggle of life, and sought a shelter for itself in large households composed of several families. The house for a single family was exceptional throughout aboriginal America, while the house large enough to accommodate several was the rule. Moreover, the habitations were occupied as joint tenement houses. There was also a tendency to form the households on the principle of the gentile [pronounced gen-ti-le] kin, the mothers with their children being of the same gens or clan." See Second Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1880-81, pp. xviii-xix.

¹ Letter dated Philadelphia, August 16, 1683, printed in "The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America," etc. [by Richard Blome], London, 1687, p. 98.

² A Geographical Description of the lately discovered province of Pennsylvania, by Francis Daniel Pastorius [1685], in *Memoirs Hist. Soc. of Penn.*, Vol. IV., Part II., p. 96.

³ An Historical Description of the Province of West-New-Jersey in America, etc., by Gabriel Thomas, London, 1698; reprinted (lithographed) New York, 1848, p. 5.

⁴ Wassenaer, as cited, p. 20; Smith's History of New Jersey, Burlington, 1765, p. 65.

⁵ Traces of such earth excavations and wooden floors have been found at Greenwich, Cumberland county. See Annual Report of State Geologist for 1878, p. 125. It is not improbable, however, that

leaves spread on the bare ground¹ a fact which inspired the muse of Roger Williams to sing² :

God gives them sleep on Ground, on Straw,
on Sedgie Mats or Boord :
When English Softest Beds of Downe,
sometimes no sleep afford.

From this humble lodging no one was ever turned away—not even strangers. Their generous hospitality was always noted with admiration by travelers.³ "If an European comes to see them, or calls for Lodging at their House or Wigwam, they give him the best place or first cut."⁴ "None could excel them in liberality with the little they had, for nothing was too good for a friend," says the historian Samuel Smith,⁵ paraphrasing William Penn. "Give them a fine Gun, Coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands, before it sticks ; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent ; the most merry Creatures that live, Feast and Dance perpetually ; they never have much, nor want much : Wealth circulateth like the Blood, all parts partake ; and though some shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of Property."⁶ Thomas says : "If three

huts of this description were either erected by whites, or by Indians in imitation of the first white settlers.

¹ Wassenaer, p. 20.

² "Key," p. 40.

³ Heckewelder, 101 ; Pastorius, 96 ; A Brief Description of New York, etc. [1670], by Daniel Denton, London [1701], reprinted, New York, 1845, p. 20.

⁴ William Penn, in Richard Blome's "Present State," etc., as cited, p. 98.

⁵ History of New Jersey, p. 141.

⁶ William Penn, as cited, p. 99. Writing home from New Perth (Perth Amboy, N. J.) in 1684, one of the early Scotch settlers says : "And for the Indian Natives they are not troublesome any way to any of us, if we do them no harm, but are a very kind and loving people ; the men do nothing but hunt, and the women they plant Corn, and work at home : they come and trade among the Christians with Skins or Venison, or Corn, or Pork. And in the summer time they and their Wives come down the Rivers in their Cannoes, which they make themselves of a piece of a great tree, like a little Boat, and there they Fish and take Oysters." See "The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America," etc., by George Scot, Edin-

or four of them come into a Christian's House, and the Master of it happen to give one of them Victuals, and none to the rest, he will divide it into equal Shares among them : And they are also very kind and civil to any of the Christians ; for I myself have had Victuals cut by them in their Cabbins, before they took any for themselves." ¹ An Indian in need of food or lodging would not hesitate to enter the lodge of another, especially of the same tribe, and would expect as a matter of course to reciprocate as occasion offered.² The guest would be given a seat on a mat in the middle of the wigwam, and would be invited to help himself out of the earthen pot, which in the beginning never knew the potter's wheel, and in its later existence was totally unacquainted with the cleansing properties of soap and water. Meat and fish and vegetables were all alike cooked in the same vessel, without salt or other seasoning than hunger, for the Indians were abstemious, and seldom ate more than two meals a day, and then only when hunger prompted.³ Some squaws, of course, were more skillful than others, and knew how to prepare Indian corn⁴ in a dozen different ways ⁵; but the Indian's ordinary breakfast and dinner was maize pounded in a mortar till it was crushed into a soft mass and then boiled. ⁶ This was his *ach-poon*, softened by the Indians of Southern

burgh, 1685, p. 200, quoted in East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments, etc., by William A. Whitehead, second ed., Newark, N. J., 1875, p. 439; 1st ed., 1846, p. 302.

¹ Thomas's West Jersey, 4.

² Wassenaer, 21.

³ Loskiel, 68; Heckewelder, 193; Campanius, 121.

⁴ Algonkin tribes so widely separated as the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, and the Piegan Blackfeet, use the same word as the Lenape for Indian corn : the first-named *pe-askumun-ul*; the second, *esko-tope*, and the last *jesquem* (Campanius), or *chasquem* (Zeisberger). The word is composed of the root *ask* or *aski*, "green," and the suffix *mun* or *min*, an edible fruit, abbreviated in the Delaware to *m*.—*Brinton's Lenape*, 49.

⁵ Loskiel, 67.

⁶ Montanus, 79-80; Description of the New Netherlands, by Adriaen Van der Donck, Amsterdam, 1656, translated and printed in the N. Y. Historical Society's Collections, New Series, New York, 1841, Vol. I., p. 193; *Beskrifning Om De Swenska Forsamlingars Fornä och Narwarande*

New Jersey into *as-poan*, whence the Dutch *sapaen* or *sup-paen* (sup-pawn), the Swedish *sappan*, and the Virginia "corn-pone," sometimes tautologically called "pone bread." Another favorite dish was Indian corn beaten and boiled, and eaten hot or cold, with milk or butter; this they called *Nasaump*, whence the word "samp."¹ Corn was often boiled whole, when it was called *msich-quatash*,² a word which looks like "succotash." Or, it was well mixed "with small beans of different colors, which they plant themselves, but this is held by them as a dainty dish more than as daily food."³ William Penn further remarks on their cookery: "their Maiz is sometimes roasted in the Ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with Water, which they call *Homine*; they also make Cakes, not unpleasant to eat; they have likewise several sorts of *Beans* and *Pease*, that are good nourishment."⁴

Their thirst was quenched by drinking the broth of meat they boiled, or by draughts of pure water,⁵ for they had no intoxicating liquors, their only stimulant being tobacco, the smoke of which they inhaled,⁶ as they enjoyed their pipes.⁷ Owing to their lack of intoxicants, Van der Donck

Tilstand, *Uti Det sa kallade Nya Sverige*, etc., *Ugifwen Af Israel Acrelius*, Stockholm, 1759, p. 59, translated and published, with notes, by William M. Reynolds, D. D., Philadelphia, 1874, as *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. XI., p. 65.

¹ Roger Williams, as cited, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, 32.

³ Representation of New Netherland, p. 21.

⁴ Richard Blome's "Present State," etc., 98.

⁵ Loskiel, 74; Van der Donck, 192.

⁶ Brinton's Lenape, 49. Dr. Brinton says tobacco was called by the Delawares *kscha-tey* (Zeisberger), *scha-ta* (Campanius), or *shuate* (Salem Interpreter), which he thinks are from the root 'ta or 'dam, "to drink," the smoke being swallowed like water.—*Ibid.*, 49.

⁷ The Delaware word for pipe was *appooke*, the modern Delaware being *o'pahokun*, which closely resembles the *hopoacan* of Zeisberger (say 1750), and the *hapockon* of the Salem Interpreter of 1684. See Brinton's Lenape, 50; Am. Hist. Record, I., 309. Their pipes were made of red marble, steatite, blue slate, sandstone or clay, often brought from the Mississippi or beyond. See Loskiel, 51, 100; Abbott's Primitive Industry, 317-340.

remarks, "although their language is rich and expressive it contains no word to express drunkenness. Drunken men they call fools. * * * The rheumatic-gout, red and pimpled noses, are unknown to them; nor have they any diseases or infirmities which are caused by drunkenness.¹ Unfortunately, the savages soon acquired a passionate fondness for liquor, which has been the greatest curse the white man has brought upon them. Their Chiefs again and again implored the white rulers to prohibit or at least restrain the devastating traffic,² but cupidity on the one side and weakness on the other made vain all efforts in that direction.³

The men provided the fish and game, while the women

¹ Van der Donck, as cited, 192.

² De Vries, in N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, 2d Series, 1841, Vol. I., 267; Smith's N. J., 52; Pa. Col. Records, II., 141; Loskiel, 101; Good Order Established in Pennsylvania & New-Jersey in America, etc., by Thomas Budd, 1685, reprinted, New York, 1865, p. 63.

³ The sale of liquors to the Indians was prohibited by the Director and Council of New Netherlands, by ordinances passed 18 June, 1643; 21 November, 1645; 1 July, 1647; 10 March, 1648; 13 May, 1648; 28 August, 1654; 20 December, 1655 (on the Delaware river); 26 October, 1656; 12 June, 1657 (prohibits the giving or selling); 9 April, 1658. See Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-1674, compiled and translated by E. B. O'Callaghan, Albany, 1868, *sub annis*. The English enacted similar prohibitions 1 March, 1665; 22 September, 1676; in Pennsylvania 10 December, 1682, and frequently thereafter. See Duke of York's Laws, etc., Harrisburg, 1879, pp. 32, 75, 111. In New Jersey, an act was passed in 1677 imposing a penalty on any person who should "draw strong drink for the Indians, and not take effectual care to prevent any disturbance that may happen by any such means to any of their neighbours." But the pious and thrifty rumsellers of that day had a horror of "sumptuary" legislation, and 1682 they got this act modified by a new law, which with an amusing affectation of holy scruples set out: "Forasmuch as brandy, rum and other strong liquors, are in their kind (not abused but taken in moderation) creatures of God, and useful and beneficial to mankind, and that those creatures which God bestows, are not more to be denied to Indians in moderation than the Christians," etc., etc. In 1692 the Legislature regretfully confessed that the "notion of selling strong liquors in moderation" had been a failure, and thereupon rigidly prohibited the furnishing of any kind of intoxicating liquors to the Indians, under penalty of five lashes on the bare back, ten for the second offence, fifteen for the third, and twenty for any further offence. — *Grants and Concessions*, Philadelphia [1758], 125, 137, 258, 316; reprinted, Somerville, N. J., 1881. Other enactments on the same subject will be found in Kinsey's Laws, 1732, and in Nevill's Laws, 1752 and 1761.

cultivated the fields, raised corn and other vegetables in great quantities, and preserved them during the winter in pits¹ or barracks. Sometimes they would have a supply of provisions stored up sufficient to last them two years, a fact which shows that they were not always as improvident as they have been assumed to be.² They often postponed a war until crops could be gathered, as they depended largely on their vegetables for their sustenance.

Trained from their infancy³ in feats of dexterity and agility, as well as to endurance, they of course excelled in the craft of wood or water. They cheerfully placed these talents at the service of the whites for a trifling recompence,⁴ and proved valuable aids in subduing the native wilds, and many of their customs have been kept up by the whites to this day.⁵ They were found trusty messengers between the Dutch settlements on the Delaware and New Amsterdam, and swift ones, too, a dusky savage undertaking (in 1661) to take a letter from Christina (Newcastle, Del.) to Manhattan in four or five days, for the munificent reward of "a piece of cloth or a pair of socks."⁶ The distance would be one hundred and twenty miles in a straight line, and by the ordinary paths must have been nearly or quite half as far again.

They dressed in the skins of wild animals, which they skillfully cured. Their implements were of stone—flint

¹ "They preserve their crops in round holes, dug in the earth at some distance from the houses, lined and covered with dry leaves or grass."—*Loskiel*, 68. What was this but a silo?

² N. Y. Col. Documents, XII., 292. During the second Esopus war, 1645, the Dutch cut down 215 acres of maize and burned above 100 pits full of corn and beans.—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, IV., 47.

³ *Loskiel*, 75. Mr. Wolley says he had been informed that an Indian boy of seven years could shoot a bird on the wing with a bow and arrow.—*Journal*, p. 71.

⁴ *Loskiel*, 16. A Brief Account of East: New: Jarsey in America: published by the Scots Proprietors Having Interest there, Edinburgh, 1683; reprinted, Morrisania, N. Y., 1867, p. 21.

⁵ That of burning the grass off the meadows in the spring, for instance; a practice of the Indians in order to dislodge the small vermin, and to stimulate the growth of young grass for the deer to feed on.—*Loskiel*, 55.

⁶ N. Y. Col. Docs., XII., 344.

arrow heads ; jasper arrow heads have been found on Garret Mountain, which must have been brought from a distance ; quartz, slate, shale and other materials were used for the same purpose. Axes, scrapers, knives, chisels (celts), fish-spears, club-heads, net-sinkers, pestles, pipes, plummets, drills, mortars, spear-heads, some of them finely wrought, and made of chert, flint, quartz, jasper, granite, slate and other stones, have been found in vast abundance in New Jersey, especially in the southern part of the State. In Mercer county alone Dr. Abbott has collected upwards of twenty thousand specimens of Indian handiwork in this line.¹ Oval knives, admirably adapted to the cleaning of fish, have been found along the Passaic and Hackensack rivers. Many of the New Jersey implements show a degree of skill superior to that of many other tribes. The Indian workman acquired great proficiency in fashioning knives and other articles out of flint by dexterous percussion or steady pressure. Holes were bored in the hardest stones, doubtless by swiftly revolving a pointed stick or bone or other stone in the article to be penetrated, perhaps using a bit of cord to aid the revolution, by twisting and untwisting, and sand to increase the trituration.² The native copper found near the Raritan was highly prized, and was hammered into shape for weapons or tools of various kinds. Their pottery was made of clay and pounded shells, mixed and fashioned by hand, and burned in the fire. There was usually but little attempt at ornamentation, and very seldom were colors used. Soapstone pots were highly prized, and were brought in the rough from great distances and fashioned by the purchaser to his or her individual taste.³

¹ Dr. Abbott's collection of palæolithic and neolithic implements, ornaments, etc., found by him in New Jersey, is now (1893) owned by the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, Mass., where it is arranged in glass cases and displayed to good advantage.

² Every boy knows how to whirl a stick swiftly by twisting and untwisting a cord about it. In the museum at Zurich may be seen a "restoration" of the simple contrivance on this plan wherewith the ancient Lake-Dwellers of Switzerland bored holes in stones, using a bit of cow's horn, with the point cut off, as the borer, sand and water being dropped into the hole bored ; in this way a core can be easily cut out of the hardest stone.

³ Dr. Charles C. Abbott, *Primitive Industry*, passim.

In making a canoe they would fell a tree by the use of their stone axes—which they could do almost as readily as the whites with their implements of iron¹—or by burning into the trunk at the base. This they would trim off by the same means, shape it by scraping and by fire, and then would hollow it out by fire, just as did our own Aryan ancestors; or, in later times, they would skillfully cover a framework with bark, and so form a vessel large enough to contain twenty rowers, or to bear two thousand pounds of freight, and yet so light that two or four men could carry it.²

They had learned to make a coarse cloth from the fibre of nettles and other plants, which they twisted upon the thigh with the palm of their hands, and wove with their fingers. They made rope, purses and bags³ of the same thread. For needles they used small bones or wooden splints, with which they were quite dexterous.⁴

Like all uncivilized peoples, the Indians were very fond of ornaments, either for use or for the adornment of the person, and they were in the habit of bartering articles which they had for those which they had not. Flat or hemispherical stones, with holes bored through them, whereby they could be suspended around the neck, were very common, scores of them being pictured in Dr. Abbott's "Primitive Industry." Shells were used in the same way. We may readily imagine the steps by which the size of these ornaments was reduced until a mere bead was formed, perhaps in imitation of bits of hollow bone or wood or reeds, previously used for the same purpose. The dwellers along the seacoast had the advantage over the tribes in the interior, in the greater abundance of material suitable for making these beads, and in time became expert in their production. When the whites came, and we know not how long

¹ Wolley, 52; Representation of New Netherland (1649), translated by Henry C. Murphy, New York, 1849, p. 19.

² Loskiel, 32, 103.

³ They appear to have had something like an approach to a standard measure for corn, in the shape of bags, called *denotas*.—*Remonstrance of New Netherland*, 13. The Lenape word is *Menutes*.

⁴ Wolley, 52; Abbott's Primitive Industry, passim.

before,¹ a standard form appears to have been settled upon, and the beads were ground down to the thickness of a large straw, about a third of an inch in length, smoothly polished, bored longitudinally with sharp stones, and strung upon thongs or the sinews of animals.² The fineness was tested by passing it over the nose, the absence of friction being satisfactory proof of its good quality.³ These beads were formed from pieces broken out of the inside of the periwinkle, the conch, the hard clam or other suitable shell.⁴ The white beads were called *wampum*, and the blue, purple or violet beads were called *suckanhock*⁵; in time they were distinguished simply as white wampum and black wampum. The latter being the less plentiful, and perhaps more esteemed from its richer color, was twice as valuable as the former. By the Dutch they were commonly called *searwant*, the etymology of which is obscure; but this is said to have been the generic name for the beads, both white and black.⁶ However, at an early day the word *wampum* came into general use for the article. In Massachusetts it was called *wampam-peak*, *wampum-peag*,⁷ *wampompeage* or simply *peag* or *peague*. Among

¹ Morgan says these beads came nearer to a currency than any other species of property among the Indians, and that their use as such reaches back to a remote period on this continent.

² Van der Donck, as cited, 206; Roger Williams's "Key," 130; A Brief Description of New York, etc., by Daniel Denton, London [1701], reprinted, New York, 1845, p. 8. On pp. 42-7 of the reprint is an excellent note on wampum, by Gabriel Furman. Daniel Denton was in New York in 1670.

³ Campanius, 132.

⁴ Van der Donck, 206; Wolley, 32; Denton, 8; Loskiel, 27; Roger Williams, 128; The Breeden Raedt (printed in 1649), reprinted in N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV., 82. [This last-named work was reprinted also in 1854, for Mr. James Lenox, in connection with the Vertoogh (Remonstrance or Representation) of New Netherland, both being translated for the purpose by Henry C. Murphy. His translation of the Breeden Raedt is (1893) in the possession of the writer hereof].

⁵ Roger Williams, 130.

⁶ Gabriel Furman, in note to Denton, as above, p. 42.

⁷ A Summary, Historical and Political, of the * * British Settlements in North-America, by William Douglass, Boston, Printed: London, re-printed, 1755, I., 177; History of New England, by John

the New Jersey Indians it was called *wapapi* (white wampum) and *gequak* or *n' sukgéhak* (black wampum). The former word is derived from the root *wompi* (Iroquois) or *wap* (Delaware), "white;" the latter from *sukéu*, "black," and perhaps *pokqueu*, "clam" or "mussel." Although its manufacture was widely spread, at one time the Indians on Long Island, especially on the Sound, almost monopolized its production.¹ Used first merely for ornament, twined around the head, neck or waist,² it came to be so much in demand by all tribes that it assumed the character of a currency, and when the whites first settled here they used it in trade also, having no other money, not only in their dealings with the Indians but among themselves.³ Some white men tried to make wampum, but their crude product was promptly rejected as counterfeit. With his hand or a split stick for a vise, a sharp stone for a drill, and another stone for his grindstone, a skillful Indian could grind, bore and polish thirty-five or forty of these beads in a day, worth ten or fifteen cents.⁴ "Wampum being in a manner the currency of the country," as remarked by a writer of New Netherland in 1634,⁵ the watchful Governor and Directors of the Colony tried to regulate its value from time to time by sundry enactments. In 1641 it was declared that "very bad wampum" was circulated, and "payment is made in rough unpolished wampum which is

Gorham Palfrey, Boston, 1859, Vol. I., 31. "Peag" doubtless means a fathom. "Piuckquat being sixtie pence, they call Nquittompeg, or Nquitnishcausu, that is, one fathom, 5 shillings."—*Roger Williams*, as cited, 129. The Cree for fathom is *peyakonisk*, the first syllable being pronounced very much the same as *peag*.

¹ Wolley, 32. "The greatest part of the wampum, for which the furs are traded, is manufactured there [on Long Island Sound], by the Natives," wrote Cornelis van Tienhoven in 1650.—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I., 360.

² Remonstrance of New Netherland, 13; Roger Williams, 131.

³ Wampum circulated among the whites in New England as early as 1630. See Second Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1880-81, p. 236.

⁴ Lindstrom, quoted by Campanius, 131.

⁵ N. Y. Col. Docs., I., 87. See also *ib.*, 303, 336, 425.

brought hither from other places, and the good polished wampum, commonly called Manhattan wampum is wholly put out of sight or exported, which tends to the express ruin and destruction of this country ;” wherefore it was ordered that unpolished wampum should pass current at the rate of five for one stuyver (two cents), and well polished wampum should remain as before, at four for one stuyver, strung.¹ In 1647 loose wampum continued current, although many of the beads were imperfect, broken or unpierced ;² it kept on depreciating in quality and value till 1650, when beads of stone, bone, glass, mussel-shells, horn and even of wood were in circulation. The authorities thereupon prohibited the use of loose wampum unless strung on a cord, and fixed the value of the good article at six white and three black for a stuyver, while the “poor strung” was rated at eight white and four black per stuyver, and “there being at present no other currency,” wampum was made legal tender to the value of twelve guilders—about five dollars—the bakers, tapsters and laboring men having refused to take it in pay.³ By 1657 it depreciated to one bead to the farthing, or eight per stuyver, and in 1658 it was still lower, and the shopkeepers were loth to take it at all. But Director General Petrus Stuyvesant and his Council ordained that half a gallon of beer *must be* sold for six stuyvers in silver, nine stuyvers in beaver, and twelve in wampum ; a coarse wheaten loaf of eight pounds, at fourteen stuyvers in wampum ; a rye loaf of the same weight at twelve stuyvers in wampum, and a white loaf of two pounds at eight stuyvers in wampum.⁴ Although wampum continued to depreciate in value, it was in quite general use as a currency for a century longer.

Wampum had another and very important function. Doubtless by means of some conventional arrangement of

¹ Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, as cited, 26.

² *Ib.*, 80.

³ *Ib.*, 115 ; Records of the City of New Amsterdam in New Netherland, edited by Henry B. Dawson, Morrisania, N. Y., 1867, Vol. I., 37-8 ; The Dutch Records of New York, printed in Old New York, Vol. II. (March, 1891), 469-70.

⁴ Laws and Ordinances, etc., as cited, 359.

the beads, the significance of which is not now understood, strings of wampum served a mnemonic purpose. The messenger from one tribe to another, or from the Indians to the whites, would sometimes carry as many as thirty strings of wampum, which he would lay down one after another as he delivered the respective points of his message. Arranged in belts, the black and white sometimes forming pictures or figures, they conveyed a meaning perfectly comprehensible to the Indian. As Montcalm wrote in 1757: "These Belts and Strings of Wampum are the universal agent among Indians, serving as money, jewelry, ornaments, annals, and for registers; 'tis the bond of nations and individuals; an inviolable and sacred pledge which guarantees messages, promises and treaties. As writing is not in use among them, they make a local memoir by means of these belts, each of which signifies a particular affair, or a circumstance of affairs. The Chiefs of the villages are the depositaries of them, and communicate them to the young people, who thus learn the history and engagements of their Nations. * * * Their length, width and color are in proportion to the importance of the affair to be negotiated. Ordinary Belts consist of twelve rows of 180 beads each."¹ A belt of white wampum, with

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., Vol. X., 556. One of the belts kept by the Onondagas contains 10,000 beads.—*Second Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, 1880-81, p. 232. This and other wampum belts are illustrated in this report. The belt given by the Indians to William Penn at the famous treaty at Shackamaxon in 1682 is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is depicted with the utmost exactness in the Memoirs of that Society, Vol. VI., Philadelphia, 1858, at p. 207. The belt is 26 inches long and nine inches broad, consisting of 18 rows of beads, 166 beads in each row, or about 3,000 in all. "According to an Indian conception, these belts can tell, by means of an interpreter, the exact rule, provision or transaction talked into them at the time, and of which they were the exclusive record. A strand of wampum consisting of strings of purple and white shell beads, or a belt woven with figures formed by beads of different colors, operated on the principle of associating a particular fact with a particular string or figure; thus giving a serial arrangement to the facts as well as fidelity to the memory."—*Ancient Society*, by Lewis H. Morgan, New York, 1878, p. 143. Among the Iroquois (and probably among other tribes) there were trained interpreters, called "Keepers of the Wampum," whose business it was to explain the meaning of these belts.—*ib.*

two hands joined, in black, was a signal of peace and unity; if of black, it meant a warning or reproof; if black, marked with red, it was a declaration of war. When the Senecas wished the Delawares to join them in fighting the French, they sent a belt of wampum expressing their desire. The Delawares, after due deliberation, returned the belt, thereby declining the invitation.¹

The exceeding fondness of the Indians for wampum made its manufacture a profitable industry down to within a few years, and less than half a century ago many a family in Bergen county earned a livelihood by making wampum for the traders on the frontiers.²

In their family relations the Delaware Indians seem to have been happier than the Iroquois and many other tribes. ³ They married very young—the girls at thirteen or fourteen, and the lads when seventeen or eighteen.⁴ Exogamy was the rule among all the North American Indians, as is and has been the case among nearly all peoples in a state of barbarism.⁵ No young brave was permitted under any circumstances to marry a dusky maiden of his own sub-tribe. “According to their own account, the Indian nations were divided into tribes, for no other purpose, than that no one might ever, either through temptation or mistake, marry a near relation, which at present is scarcely possible.”⁶ The young women inclining to marriage would wear a headdress indicative of the fact, as they sat by the pathway, usually covering the face and often the whole body, so that they

¹ Loskiel, 27, 28.

² A description of the process as carried on in Bergen county in 1845 is given in *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey*, etc., by John W. Barber and Henry Howe, New York, 1845, p. 72. It is there said that females made from five to ten strings of wampum, a foot long, in a day, which they sold readily to the country merchants for 12½ cents a string.

³ Loskiel, 60.

⁴ William Penn, as cited, 98.

⁵ *Primitive Marriage*, by J. F. Mc Lennan, *passim*.

⁶ Loskiel, 56. “When a lad courts a girl he buys her generally in a neighboring village.—*Wassenaer*, as cited, 230.

could not be recognized,¹ until the favored suitor appeared. The negotiations for the maiden's hand were carried on with her nearest relations, to whom the suitor would send a present,² sometimes supplemented by a gift of wampum to the girl.³ If the relatives were unfavorable, they returned the gifts, but if agreeable, the maiden was led to the young brave's hut without further ceremony, and her friends would march in solemn procession to the dwelling of the young couple, with presents of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, baskets, hatchets, etc.⁴ These unions, generally formed merely from inclination or convenience, were seldom lasting, and the man and woman would separate on slight provocation, and enter into new relations.⁵ Instances, however, are recorded where there were the sincerest attachments; men and women would carry *besons* (love-philtres), to preserve the affection of one they loved⁶; and when this affection was lost they would take poison to destroy the life no longer brightened by the light of love.⁷ In cases of separation, the children followed the mother, as they were always

¹ William Penn, as cited, 97-8; Journal of New Netherland, 1641-7, reprinted in N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV., 81.

² Loskiel, 57.

³ Wolley, 49.

⁴ Loskiel, 57; Wassenauer, 20.

⁵ Loskiel, 58; Journal of New Netherland, as cited, 81; Heckewelder, 154. The advantages of this system were thus expounded (in 1770) by an aged Indian who had lived much in Pennsylvania and New Jersey: "White man court, court—may be one whole year!—may be two year before he marry!—well!—may be then got *very good* wife—but may be *not*—may be *very* cross! Well, now, suppose cross!—scold so soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day! scold until sleep! all one; he must keep her. White people have law forbidding throwing away wife, be she ever so cross; must keep her always. Well, how does Indian do? Indian when he see industrious squaw, which he like, he go to her, place his two forefingers close aside each other, make two look like one—look squaw in the face—see her smile—which is all one she say, *Yes*! so he take her home—no danger *she* be cross; no, no! Squaw know too well what Indian do if she cross—throw her away and take another! Squaw love to eat meat! no husband, no meat! Squaw do everything to please husband; he do same to please squaw. Live happy!"—Heckewelder, 162.

⁶ Loskiel, 58.

⁷ William Penn, as cited, 99; Heckewelder, 259-60; Loskiel, 58.

considered as belonging to her tribe.¹ Although a plurality of wives was permissible, it was not commonly indulged in by the Delawares.² Loskiel ungallantly says this was because "their love of ease rendered domestic peace a most valuable treasure."³ It is very evident, however, that in such a crude stage of existence few men were able to support more than one family, which fact would be sufficient explanation of the non-prevalence of the custom.⁴

The women bore children easily.⁵ They immediately washed them, and "Having wrapt them in a Clout, they lay them on a strait thin Board, a little more than the length & breadth of the Child, and swaddle it fast upon the Board, to make it streight; wherefore all *Indians* have flat Heads; and thus they carry them at their Backs";⁶ but when engaged in household work, the mother would "hang this rude cradle upon some peg, or branch of a tree."⁷ In order to make the infants rugged, they were frequently plunged into cold water, especially in severe weather.⁸ A name was given to the child in his sixth or seventh year, by the father, with much ceremony⁹; when he attained to manhood he was given another name, from some incident of his prowess, or other circumstance.¹⁰ There was a superstitious reluctance among them to have their names uttered aloud, and they were usually spoken of by indirection. This is one reason why they preferred, in their intercourse with the whites, to use a name given by the latter. The name of a dead Indian was never mentioned.¹¹

¹ Journal of New Netherland, as cited, 81; Heckewelder, 259; Loskiel, 61.

² Campanius, 126; Loskiel, 58.

³ Loskiel, 58.

⁴ Morgan's Ancient Society, 160.

⁵ William Penn, as cited, 97; Loskiel, 61.

⁶ William Penn, 97. The reference to Flat Heads was more applicable to the Iroquois.

⁷ Loskiel, 61.

⁸ Campanius, 123; William Penn, 97.

⁹ Loskiel, 62.

¹⁰ Morgan, Ancient Society, 79, 80; Loskiel, 62.

¹¹ Carrick Miller, on "Pictographs of the North American Indians," in Fourth Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1882-3, 171; N. Y. Col. Docs., XII., 524. Thomas, West Jersey, 6; Denton, 9-10.

Every boy was trained up in all his father's craft of field and wood and water. At the earliest age, as already remarked, he would be taught to use the bow-and-arrow, *manhtat*;¹ how to fish with the hook-and-line—the line, *wendamakan*, twisted from the strands of the wild hemp, *azhhallof*, or of the milk-weed, *pichtokenna*; the hook, *aman*, of bone, armed with bait, *awauchkon*, made of either *weccheso*, the earth-worm, or the *wauk-chelachees*, the grass-hopper.² He likewise acquired the art of spearing fish with a forked, pointed pole³, and of trapping them by means of a brush-net, which will be described hereafter. In fishing, he learned to make and to use canoes, *amochol*, either the dug-out, preferably made of the sycamore, called canoe-wood, *amochol-he*, or of birch bark, *wiqua*, and hence called *wiqua-amochol*. As he grew older he learned to wield the stone hatchet, the *t'ma-hican* (from *dema-pechen* or *tema-pechen*, to cut, and *hican*, an implement), more familiarly known to English readers as the "tomahawk."⁴ At the age of sixteen or eighteen the Indian lad underwent a trying "initiation," prefaced by a long fast and accompanied by ceremonies well calculated to test his mental and physical stamina.⁵ Doubtless the Delawares had secret societies, such as exist among many if not most of the Indian tribes to-day, but the existence of which has only come to be known of late years.

Now he was expected to distinguish himself in the hunt, either singly, or when a large number of men gathered in the autumn to form a line and drive the deer before them, called a *p'mochlapen*.⁶ This was regularly practised by the Indians near Paterson, who would form their line on Garret Mountain, from the river to the summit, and drive the deer

¹ Lenapé Conversations [with the Rev. Albert Sequakind Anthony, a highly educated Delaware Indian, in Ontario, Canada], by Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, in *American Folk-Lore Journal*, I., 38. "The bow-string is *tshipan*; the arrow, *allunth*."—*ib.*

² *Ib.*

³ Douglass, Summary, 155.

⁴ Lenapé Conversations, 38. Zeisberger's Dictionary, *passim*.

⁵ Heckewelder, 245; Loskiel, 63.

Lenapé Conversations, as cited, 39.

northerly and eastwardly toward the Falls, where they must either submit to capture, or in their wild terror plunge over the cliffs rising above the present back-race. The narrow point of rock projecting toward Spruce street, between the chasm and the back-race, was in the early days known by the whites as the Deer's Leap, from this ancient Indian custom.

When a mere boy the Indian lad would be permitted to sit in the village council house, and hear the assembled wisdom of the village or his tribe discuss the affairs of state, ¹ and expound the meaning of the *keekq'* (beads composing the wampum belts), whether the belt handed forth at a treaty, the *nochkunduwagan* ("an answering"), or the belt of ratification, *aptunwoagan* ("the covenant").² In this way he early acquired maturity of thought, and was taught the traditions of his people, and the course of conduct calculated to win him the praise of his fellows. When he got old enough to go on the war-path, he was taught the war-whoop, *kowamo*, and how to hurl the war-club, *apech'lit* or *mehittqueth*.³

The American Indians were all passionately fond of games, and were mostly inveterate gamblers. Among the Lenâpé a popular fireside game was *quâ-quallis*. A hollow bone was attached by a string to a pointed stick, which was held in the hand, and the bone was thrown up by a rapid movement, the game being to catch the bone, while in motion, on the pointed end of the stick. In another game, the players arranged themselves in two parallel lines, forty feet apart, each armed with a reed spear or arrow. A hoop, *tautmusq*, was rolled rapidly at an equal distance between the lines, and the successful player was he who hurled his spear through the hoop in such a way as to stop it. *Maumun'di* was a third game; it was played with twelve flat bones, one side white, the other colored, placed in a bowl, thrown into the air and caught as they fell; those falling with the white side uppermost were the winning pieces.⁴

¹ Loskiel, 28, 63; Heckewelder, 116.

² Lenâpé Conversations, 39.

³ *Ib.*, 39.

⁴ Essays of an Americanist, 186.

"The Girls," says William Penn, "stay with their Mothers, and help to Hoe the Ground, Plant Corn, and carry Burthens; and they do well to use them to that Young, which they must do when they are Old; for the Wives are the true Servants of their Husbands; otherwise the Men are very affectionate to them."¹

What an eloquent tribute to the character of the Lenâpé Pastorius gives: "They cultivate among themselves a most scrupulous honesty, are unwavering in keeping promises, insult no one, are hospitable to strangers, and faithful even to death to their friends."² Another witness, at a much later date, testifies: "In former times they were quite truthful, although oaths were not customary among them. But it was not so in later times, *after they had more intercourse with Christians*."³ Says Thomas: "They are so punctual that if any go from their first Offer or Bargain with them, it will be very difficult for that Party to get any Dealings with them any more, or to have any farther Converse with them."⁴ William Penn tried the Golden Rule in his dealings with the Lenâpé, and from his practical experience of its workings gave this advice: "Don't abuse them, but let them have Justice, and you win them."⁵ In their primitive state, ere civilization had introduced to them a thousand comforts, conveniences and luxuries of which they had never dreamed, their wants were few, and covetousness was unknown. An Indian who heard the word for the first time asked what it meant, and when told that it signified a desire for more than a man needed, replied: "*That is a strange thing*."⁶

On the other hand, all the early records show that they never forgot and rarely forgave an injury, and imitated the

¹ Richard Blome's "Present State," etc., as cited, 97; Loskiel, 62.

² Pastorius, as cited, in Memoirs Hist. Soc. Pa., IV., Part II., p. 96; Heckewelder, 277.

³ Acrelius, 53.

⁴ Thomas's West-New Jersey, 6.

⁵ Richard Blome's "Present State," etc., as cited, 104.

⁶ The History of Pennsylvania, in North America, etc., by Robert Proud, Philadelphia, 1798, Vol. II., 304.

wild beasts they hunted, in their cruelty and ferocity in reeking vengeance on a foe.

In other words, notwithstanding many excellent traits, in which the Lenâpé were superior to the Iroquois, they were still barbarians, and preserved many of the instincts that had belonged to their state of savagery. Their crude idea of justice was not unlike that which prevailed among the Hebrews in the time of Moses: "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot,"¹ with a provision for adjustment on a money basis, such as was allowed by the earlier Roman law,² and in that of England within the historic period.³ In short, it rested on the two-fold principle of retaliation and restitution or pecuniary compensation.⁴ There was no question of ethics involved, nor had Indian society yet reached that stage where an injury done to the individual was a delict, a crime or a sin against the tribe, although there are occasional instances in the early records where the tribe felt a certain responsibility for the acts of rash members.⁵ By their unwritten code, the thief was compelled to restore the article taken, or its value, and if he repeated the offence too often he was stripped of all his goods.⁶ Where one man killed another, it was left to the dead man's relatives to slay the offender,⁷ but unless this was done

¹ Exodus xxi, 24.

² Studies in Roman Law, etc., by Lord Mackenzie, 3d ed., Edinburgh, 1870, pp. 366, 367; The Pandects; a Treatise on the Roman Law, etc., by J. E. Goudsmit, LL. D., London, 1873, pp. 344 et seqq.

³ Kemble's "Anglo-Saxons," I., 177, quoted in Ancient Law, etc., by Henry Sumner Maine, New York, 1877, p. 358.

⁴ Cf. "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," by W. Robertson Smith, M. A., Edinburgh, 1881, p. 336; Heckewelder, 329.

⁵ Sir Henry Sumner Maine believes that the earliest written laws of the Romans were based on the idea of *tort*—a wrong done the State, which was equivalent to a *sin*.—*Ancient Law*, 363-6.

⁶ Wassenauer, 28.

⁷ *Ib.*, 28. "All through the East, there are regularly fixed tariffs for blood-cancelling; as if in recognition of the relative loss to a family, of one or another of its supporting members." See "The Blood Covenant a primitive rite and its bearings on Scripture," by H. Clay Trumbull, D. D., London, 1887, p. 260. The person who slew the murderer was not so much an avenger, as a restorer, a balancer, of the poise between the

within twenty-four hours, it was usual to accept a pecuniary compensation,¹ in which case one hundred fathoms of wampum would be paid for a man, and twice as much for a woman, the distinction being due to the fact that she might bear children.²

Time was divided by moons—*gischuch*; they had but twelve lunar months in the year, *gachtin*:

Anixi *gischuch* (Squirrel month), January.

Tsqualli *gischuch* (Frog month), February.

M'choamowi³ *gischuch* (Shad month), March.

Quitauweuhewi *gischuch* (Spring month), April.

Tauwinipen (Beginning of Summer), May.

Kitschinipen (Summer), June.

Yugatamoewi *gischuch*, July.

Sakauweuhewi *gischuch* (Deer month), August.

Kitschitachquoak⁴ (Autumn month), September.

Pooxit (Month of vermin), October.

Wini *gischuch* (Snow month), November.

M'chakhocque (Cold month, when the cold makes the trees crack), December.⁵

Periods less than moons or months were counted by nights or "sleeps."⁶ Instead of reckoning by years, they

families of the slayer and the slain. There are frequent instances in American history, apparently supporting this view, where captives have been adopted in the place of sons slain in battle.

¹ Van der Donck, 212. See Exodus xxi, 30.

² Loskiel, 16.

³ In the Minsi or Monsey dialect, *chvuami*.—Heckewelder, 362.

⁴ Big Snake month, from *kitschi*, big, and *achgook*, snake.

⁵ A Grammar of the Language of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, translated from the German Manuscript of the late Rev. David Zeisberger, for the American Philosophical Society, Vol. III., New Series, Philadelphia, 1830, p. 109. Loskiel gives different names for some of the months: April, planting month; May, when the hoe is used to the corn; June, when the deer become red; July, the time of raising the earth about the corn; August, when the corn is in the milk; October, the harvest month; November, hunting month; December, when the bucks cast their antlers.—*History of the Mission*, etc., 31.

⁶ Loskiel, 31; Douglass's Summary, as cited, 157.

usually counted from certain seasons—as from one seeding time to the other, or “so many winters after” a particular event;¹ the time of day was calculated by the sun’s height in the heavens. As the muse of Roger Williams puts it, “More particular,” and very haltingly :

They have no helpe of Clock or Watch,
And Sunne they overprize.
Having those artificiall helps, the Sun
We unthankfully despise.²

Although, as the same writer observes, “By occasion of their frequent lying in the Fields and Woods, they much observe the Starres, and their very children can give Names to many of them, and observe their Motions,”³ we have no account of their identification of any but the polar star, by which they had learned to direct their course.⁴ The knowledge of astronomy appears to have originated with pastoral, and not with nomadic, peoples.

The red man, by reason of his adventurous pursuits, was peculiarly subject to wounds and to diseases that follow exposure and irregular living. In his treatment of external injuries he was surprisingly successful, having a precise knowledge of the particular roots and herbs most efficacious in each case and how to apply them ; these remedies were often used internally also.⁵ Bishop Ettwein says :⁶

¹ Loskiel, 31 ; Heckewelder, 307 ; Douglass, 157.

² Key, 58.

³ *Ib.*, 79.

⁴ Loskiel, 30 ; Heckewelder, 308. Thomas (as cited, p. 6) says: “ They are great Observers of the Weather by the Moon.” The name given to the North Star, *Lowannewi atank*, is evidently a literal translation from the English.

⁵ Loskiel, 107-14 ; William Penn, as cited, 95 ; Thomas, Pennsylvania, 18, 19 ; *Ib.*, West Jersey, 3 ; Wassenaer, 22. Heckewelder relates some astonishing cures of dangerous wounds, pp. 224-7. He says: “ There is a superstitious notion, in which all their physicians participate, which is, that when an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up stream, and if for a cathartic downwards.”—*Ib.*, 224, 228. And again: “ I firmly believe that there is no wound, unless it should be absolutely mortal, or beyond the skill of our own good practitioners, which an Indian surgeon (I mean the best of them) will not succeed in healing.”—*Ib.*, 229.

⁶ The Rev. John Ettwein, born in Germany in 1712, and who came to this country in 1754, to serve as a Moravian missionary among the Dela-

"There are a few Indians in general who have an actual Knowledge of the Virtues of Roots and Herbs, which they got from their Forefathers, and can cure certain Diseases, but they seldom communicate their Secrets, until they see they must soon die. Their Medicine or Beson is not for a white Man's Stomach, it is allways in great Portions. They have for a Bite of each particular Snake a particular Herb. Roberts' Plantain, called Cæsar's Antidote is commonly used for the Bite of a Rattle Snake, the Herb bruised and some of the Juice taken inwardly and the rest laid on the Wound." But the Indian's favorite remedy for disease and fatigue was the sweat-bath. Whether the warrior suffered from exhaustion or rheumatism, loss of appetite or small-pox, fever or consumption, he hied to the *Pimocun*—the sweat-house. This was a sort of oven, usually built on the side of a bank, covered with split bark and earth, lined with clay, a small door being on one side. Here two to six men could huddle together, over *twelve* red-hot stones, on which water was then poured, till they ceased to "sing." In this way clouds of steam were raised. The men at the same time drank hot decoctions, inducing a profuse perspiration, and heightening the effect, after the manner of a modern Russian bath. From this oven they plunged into the cold river, causing a vigorous reaction.¹ Unfortunately, the cold water dip was apt to prove fatal in cases of small-pox and other eruptive fevers.² Disease in general was attributed to some evil spirit getting into the sick man,³

ware Indians, and who was a Bishop at Bethlehem, Pa., from 1794 until his death, in 1802, wrote and sent to Gen. Washington in 1788 "Some Remarks and Annotations concerning the Traditions, Customs, Languages, &c., of the Indians of North America, from the Memoirs of the Rev. David Leisberger [Zeisberger], and other Missionaries of the United States," which paper was published in the Proceedings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, September, 1845. (These Proceedings for 1845 were afterwards bound up in a volume entitled Bulletin of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., Vol. I.) The quotation is from p. 38 of this paper.

¹ Heckewelder, 225; Wolley, 45; Denton, 9; Brinton, Essays of an Americanist, 187; Montanus, 82.

² Douglass, 174.

³ Denton, 10; Loskiel, 111.

and if the malady did not yield to the ordinary remedies, or the sweat-bath, the patient had a choice of one of two or three different "schools" of medicine.

David Brainerd, the devoted missionary among the Delaware Indians in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, gives us a glimpse of the *Powaws*, who were one class of priests and physicians. He says :

"These are a sort of persons who are supposed to have a power of foretelling future events, or recovering the sick, at least oftentimes, and of charming, incanting or poisoning persons to death by their magic divinations. Their spirit, in its various operations, seems to be a Satanical imitation of the spirit of prophecy with which the church in early ages was favoured. Some of these diviners are endowed with the spirit in infancy ;—others in adult age.—It seems not to depend upon their own will, nor to be acquired by any endeavours of the person who is the subject of it, although it is supposed to be given to children sometimes in consequence of some means which the parents use with them for that purpose ; one of which is to make the child swallow a small living frog, after having performed some superstitious rites and ceremonies upon it. They are not under the influence of this spirit always alike,—but it comes upon them at times. Those who are endowed with it, are accounted singularly favored."¹ One of these *Powaws* was converted under the teaching of Brainerd, and gave him a curious account of his pre-natal experiences, and of his subsequent constant direction by a spirit. "There were some times," he told the missionary, "when this spirit came upon him in a special manner, and he was full of what he saw [in his pre-existent state] in the great man. Then, he says, he was all light, and not only light himself, but it was light all around him, so that he could see through men, and knew the

¹ Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd ; Missionary to the Indians on the Borders of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania : chiefly taken from his own diary. By Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton. Including his journal, now for the first time incorporated with the rest of his diary, in a regular chronological series. By Sereno Edwards Dwight, New Haven, 1822, pp. 178, 237, 348. This is the best edition of Brainerd.

thoughts of their hearts. * * * My interpreter tells me, that he heard one of them tell a certain Indian the secret thoughts of his heart, which he had never divulged. The case was this, the Indian was bitten with a snake, and was in extreme pain with the bite. Whereupon the diviner, who was applied to for his recovery, told him, that such a time he had promised, that the next deer he killed, he would sacrifice it to some great power, but had broken his promise. Now, said he, that great power has ordered this snake to bite you for your neglect. The Indian confessed it was so, but said he had never told anybody of it."¹ This instance of the power of the *Powaw*—doubtless a shrewd guess, perhaps based on some involuntary utterance of the sick man—was well calculated to impress the simple Indian. Nevertheless, though with manifest reluctance, Roger Williams confesses that these powaws "doe most certainly (by the helpe of the Divell) worke great Cures, though most certaine it is that the greatest part of their Priests doe merely abuse them and get their Money, in the times of their sicknesse, and to my knowledge *long for sick times*."²

The name of this class of physician-priests is evidently allied to the Cree root, *pâwâmiw*, the dream.³ They might be compared with the "healing clairvoyants" of the present day. So far as they were honest in their pretensions—and most of them were impostors—they were self-deluded, throwing themselves into a condition of hypnotism. Not infrequently they were epileptic.⁴ These conclusions are

¹ *Ib.*, 350.

² *Key*, 158.

³ *Lacombe*, 545.

⁴ Cf. *Spiritualism and allied causes and conditions of Nervous Derangement*, by William A. Hammond, M. D., New York, 1876, Chapters III, v, x, XIII, xv; *The Magic of the Middle Ages*, by Viktor Rydberg, New York, 1879; *La Sorcière: the Witch of the Middle Ages*, by J. Michelet, London, 1863; *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa, of Nettesheim, Counsellor to Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany: and Iudge of the Prerogative Court. Translated out of the Latin into the English Tongue, by J. F., London, 1651, Book 1, Chap. LX; *Henrici Cornelii Agrippae ab Hettesheim De incertitudine & vanitate scientiarum declamatio invectiva*, etc., M. D. XXXI, "De divinationibus in genere," Caput xxxii; *Henrici*

reasonably inferred from the meagre accounts we have of them.

But the Indian "doctor" or "medicine man" *par excellence* was the *Metew*¹ or *Medeu*.² The Cree word is *mitew*, a sorcerer, medicine man, diviner.³ This priest-physician would prepare his roots and herbs with great ceremony, all the while chanting prayers and incantations. The quantity and quality of the medicines, as well as of the incantations, and their efficacy, likewise, depended on the size of the present given the *metew* on his appearance. ⁴ Having prepared the medicine, the physician would breathe on his patient, apply the decoction externally as well as internally, and then "howle and roar, and hollow over them, and begin the song to the rest of the people about them, who all joyne (like a Quire) in Prayer to their Gods for

Cornelius Agrippa, of the Vanitie and vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, Englished by Ja. San. Gent., Imprinted at London, etc., Anno 1569, f. 50; Some Higher Aspects of Mesmerism, by Edmund Gurney and Frederic W. H. Myers, in Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, December, 1885, London, 1885, pp. 401 et seqq. Since the above was written, the author has met with an article in the Popular Science Monthly, for September, 1886, on "Indian Medicine," by G. Archie Stockwell, M. D., in which the writer expresses his contempt for the Indian treatment of diseases as being the merest fetichism. But he says: "All medicine-men of the first rank are clairvoyants and psychologists (mesmerists, if you like) of no mean pretensions, as a rule capable of affording instruction to the most able of their white confrères; and to be a medicine-man at all demands that the individual be not only a shrewd student of human nature capable of drawing deductions from matters seemingly the most trifling, but also an expert conjurer and wizard. I have repeatedly known events in the far future to be predicted with scrupulous fidelity to details, exactly as they subsequently occurred; the movements of persons and individuals to be described in minutiae who had never been seen, and were hundreds of miles away, without a single error as to time, place, or act."

¹ "The word is derived from *meteahet*, to drum on a hollow body; a turkey cock is sometimes called *metew*, from the drumming sound of his wings. The ancient medicine men used drums."—*Lenâpé-English Dictionary*, 83. Dr. Brinton thinks the word is derived from *m'teh*, heart, as the centre of life and emotions.—*The Lenâpé*, etc., 71.

² Heckewelder, 230.

³ Dictionnaire et Grammaire de la Langue des Cris, as cited, 463.

⁴ Heckewelder, 232; Loskiel, 110.

them.”¹ Sometimes the doctor would array himself in a bearskin, with a rattle in his hand, a gourd full of stones or beans, which he would shake violently as he came to the patient's hut, making hideous noises, and playing all sorts of juggling tricks. With a great assumption of gravity he would describe the disease and its location, prescribe a diet suited to the malady, and foretell the result. If he succeeded, well; if he failed, he would give some plausible explanation of his want of success.² As his object was to drive out the sick spirit, he resorted to every expedient to that end. Often he succeeded, but in many cases the patient's spirit was frightened out of him at the same time by the fantastic and disgusting tricks, the alarming feats of legerdemain,³ and the diabolical clamor that

¹ Roger Williams, 159.

² Loskiel, 111.

³ “I would not like to hazard the assertion, in this enlightened age, that there is such a thing as magic or supernatural agency among the Indians, but I must confess myself unable, as all have done who have witnessed these exhibitions, to account for [them] satisfactorily; one of those Indians who pretends to have an intercourse with spirits, will permit himself to be bound hands and feet, then wrapped closely in a blanket or deer's hide, bound around his whole body with cords and thongs, as long and as tightly as the incredulity of any one present may see fit to continue the operation, after which he is thrown into a small lodge. He begins a low, unintelligible incantation to the gods and increases in rapidity and loudness until he works himself up into a great pitch of seeming or real frenzy, at which time, usually three or four minutes after being put in, he opens the lodge and throws out the thongs and hides with which he was bound without a single knot being untied or fold displaced, himself sitting calm and free on the ground.”—*The Ojibway Conquest, a tale of the Northwest*, by Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, or G. Copway, Chief of the Ojibway Nation, New York, 1850, p. 86. In the article on “Indian Medicine,” already cited, the writer describes an instance of this kind, where he personally bound a famous Ojibway “medicine man” with powerful strips of green moose-hide, drawing them so tightly about his naked form that the blood threatened to burst from the imprisoned flesh, employing knots and turns innumerable, such as had been suggested by naval experience; then he was lifted into a small tent erected for the purpose in the midst of an open prairie. Instantly a vast variety of noises was heard to the accompaniment of the prisoner's low chant, and presently he appeared at the door of the tent, unbound. The thongs could not be found, but he pointed to a tree a mile away, and on going thither, there were the bonds, apparently intact!

were inseparable features of the medicine man's treatment. "Sometimes the physician creeps into the oven, where he sweats, howls and roars, and now and then grins horribly at his patient, who is laid before the opening, frequently feeling his pulse."¹ Crude petroleum was a favorite medicine, especially for external complaints, but it was also taken internally.²

Another class of medicine-men in the vicinity of New York is described by Wassenauer, in 1624. These men were called *Kitsinacka*,³ evidently *Kitschii*, great, *achgook*, snake.⁴ Their practice was not unlike that of the *meten*. "When one among them is sick," says our old Dutch chronicler, "he visits him, sits by him and bawls, roars and cries like one possessed." We have no other details of the "practice" of the Big-Snake Doctor. No doubt it was connected with the awe in which the serpent was held by the American tribes in general.⁵ The serpent figured in their materia medica, and on the principle *similia similibus curantur*, when a man was wounded by a snake, the fat of the serpent itself, rubbed into the wound, was thought to be efficacious. The flesh of the rattlesnake, stewed into a kind of broth, was another remedy, and the skin, shed annually by that snake, was dried and pounded fine, and used internally for many purposes.⁶

Indian surgery was of the crudest description, but very successful. "They are perfect masters in the treatment of fractures and dislocations," says Loskiel. "If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree, and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb, and lying on his back, continues to pull till it is reduced."⁷ Even to this day the Lenâpé resort to an operation similar to trephining for

¹ Loskiel, 111.

² *Ib.*, 118.

³ Wassenauer, as cited, 20.

⁴ Lenâpé-English Dictionary, sub voces.

⁵ Dorman, as cited, 263-266.

⁶ Loskiel, 112.

⁷ Loskiel, 114.

severe headaches. A crucial incision is made in the scalp on or near the vertex, and the bone is scraped.¹

To the simple savage, living always in close contact with nature, so thoroughly in touch with her fresh and life-giving qualities, health was the normal condition of man. When the form that had once been so vigorous and animated lay still and cold, it was a mystery he could not fathom. Dr. Brinton says that "in all primitive American tribes, there is no notion of natural death. No man 'dies,' he is always 'killed.' Death as a necessary incident in the course of nature is entirely unknown to them. When a person dies by disease, they suppose he has been killed by some sorcery, or some unknown venomous creature."² Heckewelder says he has often heard the lamentable cry, *Matta wingi angeln*, "I do not want to die."³ It was different when they met death at the hands of an enemy, either in battle, or even by dreadful torture. There they encountered their fate face to face. There was none of that mystery about it which was so dreadful to the untutored mind. They could hurl defiance against their visible foes, and utter never a groan.

When a person died a natural death, the relatives were loud in their cries of grief, which they kept up for some days, until the time of burial. The body was attired in the best garments of the deceased, the face painted red, and the corpse interred in a grave some distance from the village or huts of the survivors. In the vicinity of New York, at least, and probably among the New Jersey Indians generally, the body was placed in a sitting position, the face toward the east;⁴ the pipe, tobacco, bow and arrows, knife, kettle, wampum, a small bag of corn, and other personal property of the deceased that might be useful to him on his long journey to the spirit land, were placed in the grave

¹ Essays of an Americanist, 188.

² Essays of an Americanist, 143.

³ Brinton's Lenâpé, 70.

⁴ Denton, as cited, 9; Wolley, 50; Vanderdonck, 202; Wassenauer, 20, 21.

with him.¹ At the head of the grave a tall post was erected, indicating who was buried there. If it was a Chief, the post was elaborately carved with rude figures telling something of the dead ; and if he was a war Chief or a great warrior, his valiant deeds were set forth with care upon a post painted red. In the case of a medicine man, his tortoise shell rattle or calabash was hung on the post.² The grave was enclosed with a fence and covered over, to keep it secure from intrusion, the grass was neatly trimmed, and the friends looked after it for years. Even when far removed from their old homes, they would repair at least once a year to the graves of their dead, to see that they were preserved.³ It is a shocking fact that the valuable furs in which the Indian hunter was often buried, sometimes tempted the whites to plunder the grave and rob the dead, occasioning an indignant protest upon the part of his tribe.⁴ When a prominent Indian died far from home, they would carry his bones back to his former abode, after a considerable lapse of time, and bury them beside his kindred.⁵

Their dread of the mystery of death led them to speak of it by circumlocution or some euphemism, as "You are about to see your grandfathers,"⁶ or, as among the whites, "If anything should happen." Probably because they had a vague belief that the spirits of the dead haunted their former home, Roger Williams says that in case of a death the Indians would remove their wigwam to a new spot.⁷ It is a thought that appeals strongly to the imagination—that of the Indian warrior returning in spirit to hover over his form—

¹ Denton, Wolley, Vanderdonck and Wassenauer, as just cited; Thomas, *West-New-Jersey*, 2, 3; William Penn, in *Blome's Present State*, 100-101; Loskiel, 119; Heckewelder, 268-276; *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger the Western pioneer and apostle of the Indians*, by Edmund de Schweinitz, Philadelphia, 1871, pp. 196-8.

² Loskiel, 119.

³ Denton, 9; Vanderdonck, 202; Thomas, 3; William Penn, 101.

⁴ N. Y. Col. Docs., XII.,—.

⁵ Thomas, 3.

⁶ Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, as cited, 475.

⁷ Key, 56.

er home, to linger about his grave, a thought so beautifully expressed by our own Jersey poet, Freneau :

By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews,
In vestments for the chace array'd,
The hunter still the deer pursues,
The hunter and the deer, a shade !

And long shall timorous fancy see
The painted chief, and pointed spear,
And reason's self shall bow the knee
To shadows and delusions here.¹

The friends of a deceased person blackened their faces, in token of their grief;² but the active mourning, so to speak, was left to the female relatives, who would repair daily to the grave, for a time, at morn and eve, to utter their cries of lamentation. A widow mourned a whole year, dressing without ornaments and seldom washing herself. ³ The men did not alter their dress nor manner of living, nor did they mourn for any set period,⁴ but before marrying again they were expected to make an offering to the kindred of the deceased wife, "for Atonement, Liberty, and Marriage."⁵

It is impossible to tell how many languages were spoken in America when the whites first came hither. At the present time, there are in America north of Mexico, fifty-

¹ First published (in book form) in "The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau; containing his Essays, and additional poems," Philadelphia, *M DCC LXXXVIII*, p. 189. There was a slight change in punctuation and use of italics in the lines as republished in "Poems Written between the Years 1768 & 1794, by Philip Freneau, of New Jersey," Printed at the Press of the Author, at Mount-Pleasant, near Middletown-Point, M, DCC, XCV, p. 89. They are cited here from the third collected edition of Freneau's Poems, "Poems written and published during the American Revolutionary War, and now republished from the original manuscripts; interspersed with translations from the ancients, and other pieces not heretofore in print," by Philip Freneau, Philadelphia, 1809, i., 141. Thomas Campbell, in his poem, "O'Connor's Child; or, The Flower of Love lies bleeding," uses these lines:

"Now o'er the hill in chase he flits—
The hunter and the deer a shade."

² Thomas, West Jersey, 6.

³ Loskiel, 121; Ettwein, 38.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ William Penn, as cited, 99.

eight distinct linguistic families, as described in the admirable report of Major J. W. Powell, the Director of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, and depicted with vivid clearness on the map accompanying his paper in the Seventh Annual Report of that Bureau. Of these, curiously enough, there are no less than forty families in the narrow strip between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast—a fact which militates strongly against any theory that the Indians are of Tatar or Mongolian origin. Of these fifty-eight distinct families, the Algonkin, as already remarked, occupied a very large territory; to be precise—almost the whole of the Dominion of Canada south of Lat. 60 degs. N., and east of Long. 115 degs. W.; and most of the United States as far South as Lat. 35 degs. N., east of the Mississippi. The territory lying around Lakes Erie and Ontario, on both sides of the St. Lawrence as far down as Quebec, and in Central Pennsylvania, was occupied by the Iroquois, who were thus intruded within the vast domain of the Algonkins. According to Major Powell's classification, there are thirty-six¹ well defined tribes of the Algonkin stock, numbering about 95,600 persons, of whom about 60,000 are in Canada and the remainder in this country. Included in these tribes are the Delawares and Munsees, about 1,750 persons,² descendants

¹ Dr. Brinton makes but twenty-nine, in his work on "The American Race," New York, 1891, p. 80. Among the best-known were the Abnakis, Nova Scotia and south bank of the St. Lawrence river; Arapahoes, head waters of Kansas river; Blackfeet, head waters of Missouri river; Cheyennes, upper waters of Arkansas river; Chipe-ways or Ojibways, shores of Lake Superior; Crees, southern shores of Hudson's bay; Illinois, on the Illinois river; Kickapoos, on upper Illinois river; Miamis, between Miami and Wabash rivers; Micmacs, Nova Scotia; Mohegans, on lower Hudson river; Manhattans, about New York bay; Nanticokes, on Chesapeake bay; Ottawas, on the Ottawa river; Passamaquoddies, on Schoodic river; Pottawatomies, south of Lake Michigan; Sacs and Foxes, on Sac river; Shawnees, on Tennessee river. Cf. Brinton's "American Race," p. 80: Powell on "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico," in Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1891, pp. 48-50.

² According to the report of the U. S. Indian Commissioner for 1889, and the Canadian Indian report for 1888,

of the former native inhabitants of New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania. All the languages spoken by the Algonkin tribes have marked resemblances, indicating a common origin, and in a general way it may be said that the tribes of that stock nearest to the Crees speak languages or dialects most closely resembling the tongue of that people, which has certain unmistakable signs of greater purity and antiquity than the others. It may be said to bear the same relation to the other Algonkin languages that the Sanscrit was formerly supposed to hold to the Aryan. The student of any of the Algonkin tongues finds it a great help to have at his side Howse's Cree grammar, a work held in very high esteem by scholars for its scientific precision; Lacombe's *Dictionnaire de la Langue des Cris* (his grammar, attached to the dictionary, does not stand so high as Howse's), and Cuq's *Lexique de la Langue Algonquine*. The study of the comparative grammar of allied languages, and of the etymology of words as traced through different families of the same linguistic stock, is of obvious advantage in tracing the various shades of meaning of a word, and its original significance, whereby light is often gained on obscure points in history, and the primitive manners and customs, myths and religious beliefs of a people. The earlier travelers and writers who attempted to describe the American race—or races—did not recognize fully this separation of the Indians into distinct families, speaking languages totally different, and many later writers have also ignored this important fact. In reading the narratives of explorers it is important to note carefully what region they traversed, and hence what particular linguistic stock or family they are describing. Colden's famous and invaluable *History of the Five Nations* is of very slight value in the study of the Lenâpé of New Jersey. Adair's account of the Muskoheegan Indians of the Southern States is equally valueless for the same purpose. These various stocks spoke languages radically different. There is no more resemblance between the Cree and Tinné—spoken by two peoples geographically contiguous—than there is between the French and the Chinese.¹ Still, there are cer-

¹ Bishop Faraud, quoted in *Essays of an Americanist*, 395.

tain features, certain modes of thought, of expression, common to all or most American languages, which indicate a common origin of the peoples using them, notwithstanding the superficial differences between them. There is no gender in the American tongues; words are animate or inanimate, the distinction being not always one of fact. There are no relative pronouns, few or no conjunctions; no articles; very few adjectives or prepositions. Many objects were spoken of always in connection with their relations to other objects. Instead of saying "arm," "thigh," "hand," the Indian would say "my-arm," "your-thigh," "his-hand." Words apparently disconnected were run together and incorporated into each other, a part of one being united with another, and thus new words were formed, new ideas expressed. The Indian who saw a cow for the first time described it in his own tongue as "animal-that-walks-on-flat-split-foot." The Delaware word for horse means "the four-footed-animal-which-carries-on-his-back."¹ Although lacking in facility of precise expression, according to our ideas, in many instances the American languages avoid confusions common to us. While they had little use for words to convey abstract ideas, or metaphysical, theological or scientific terms, missionaries have often found it entirely practicable to explain the mysteries of religion and theology in native words. The two examples just given show how concrete objects were often described. Certain words were used, as "indifferent themes," sometimes corresponding to our nouns, sometimes to verbs, sometimes to adjectives, according to their connection. If used in a verbal sense, a change in the root would indicate that the action was suppositive, instead of positive. Many other peculiarities show that the American languages differ in structure from those of the eastern hemisphere.² They are more primitive

¹ *Ib.*, 321.

² So long ago as 1867, Prof. William Dwight Whitney, of Yale College, in his lectures on "Language and the Study of Language," remarked that the "incorporative type is not wholly peculiar to the languages of our continent;" that a trace of it was to be found in the Hungarian, and notably in the Basque.—*Op. cit.*, 349, 354. See also "Races and Peoples: lectures on the Science of Ethnography," by Daniel G.

than the Aryan languages, and hence arises their interest for the ethnologist, who has here the opportunity of studying the earlier methods of expression used by mankind; and so of analyzing the mental processes of man in his primitive state. The light thus gained on the history of the development of the human race in mind, in manners and customs, in ways of obtaining a living, in civilization, religion and government is of the greatest value and fascinating in its interest.¹ Prof. Whitney says with truth: "Our national duty and honor are peculiarly concerned in this matter of the study of aboriginal American languages, as the most fertile and important branch of American archæology. * * Indian scholars, and associations which devote themselves to gathering together and making public linguistics and other archæological materials for construction of the proper ethnology of the continent, are far rarer than they should be among us."² But there is no lack of litera-

Brinton, A. M., M. D., New York, 1890, p. 143. This fact has led some scholars to venture the hazardous conjecture that possibly the Basques are of all European peoples of to-day the most likely to have preserved traces of a common ancestry with the American race.

¹ The interest and importance of this study, in its relations to anthropology, are very clearly set forth by Dr. Brinton in several of his admirable papers collected into the volume of "Essays by an Americanist;" see also "The Development of Language, a paper read before the Canadian Institute," by Horatio Hale, Toronto, 1888; "On Algonkin Names for Man," by J. Hammond Trumbull [From the Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1871].

² Whitney, as cited, 352. Since this was written something has been done to remove this reproach. The Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, at Cambridge, Mass., has accomplished a great deal in the way of original research in these departments. The University of Pennsylvania has established a chair of American Archæology and Linguistics; Clark University, Worcester, Mass., has founded a chair of Anthropology, and other institutions have turned their attention in the same direction. It still remains true, in the year 1893, that the only societies in the world devoted exclusively to the study of the American races are foreign, and principally composed of Frenchmen: the *Société Américaine de France*, at Paris, and the *Congrès International des Américanistes*. According to the *Compte Rendu* of the latter for 1891, out of six hundred members about half were French, and only twenty-five or thirty were citizens of the United States. The American Folk-Lore Society is doing good work by publishing in its quarterly *Journal* original contribu-

ture on these subjects now, and every year is adding to our store of knowledge, and perhaps demolishing old theories. The newer students are satisfied to gather facts, and are more chary of conclusions than their predecessors. Already we have a far greater body of original texts in the American languages—dealing with their popular traditions, myths, religion, folk-tales, religious songs and dances, ceremonies, initiation rites into medicine lodges and other secret societies, etc.—than can be found in the whole of the ancient Greek and Latin literature put together.¹ The various societies mentioned, besides others, are constantly adding to the mass, while the United States Bureau of Ethnology is accumulating a priceless treasure of original material, the result of the well-directed labors of scores of intelligent, industrious and zealous workers.

The literature of the Lenâpé may be thus summarized, from Pilling's Algonquian Bibliography: translations from the bible, and bible history, thirteen titles; dictionaries, seven, of which one was printed in 1887 and one in 1889; lists of geographic names, six; grammatic comments, eleven; grammatic treatises, two; hymns and hymn books, six; translations of the Lord's prayer, twelve (two by Trumbull); lists of numerals, fifteen; lists of proper names and translations, seven; vocabularies, forty-seven. A grammar was compiled with

tions to the literature of the religious cults of the aborigines. The International Folk-Lore Congress has necessarily included within its scope the origin and significance of American popular tales and their relations to the primitive worship of the people. The Anthropological Society of Washington, D. C., naturally gives special prominence to American archaeology, mythology and linguistics; selections from the papers read are published in the *American Anthropologist*, a quarterly journal. The American Association for the Advancement of Science has one Section (H) devoted to American Anthropology.

¹ For the past twelve years James Constantine Pilling has been occupied in preparing for the Bureau of Ethnology a series of bibliographies of American languages. Those so far published are Eskimo, 1887, pp. 116, titles cir. 650; Siouan, 1887, pp. 87, titles cir. 300; Iroquoian, 1888, pp. 208, titles 949; Muskhogean, 1889, pp. 114, titles 521; Algonquian, 1891, pp. 614, titles 2,245; Athapascan, 1892, pp. 125, titles 544. Many of these titles are repeated once or more in the several catalogues, but there are probably 4,000 separate titles in all in the lists of these five linguistic stocks.

infinite care by the devoted missionary, David Zeisberger, in the latter part of the eighteenth century ; it was translated in 1816 by Peter S. Duponteau, and published in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. III., New Series, in 1827, filling one hundred and fifty large quarto pages. It is not such a grammar as an accomplished philologist would prepare in the last decade of the nineteenth century, but it is the only one we have of the language, and gives a very full and comprehensive exposition of the structure and idioms of the Lenâpé tongue. The introduction and notes by the translator (pp. 65-96) add much to its value. Zeisberger's dictionary of the English, German, Onondaga and Delaware languages, also prepared more than a century ago, was published in 1887, in a volume of two hundred and thirty-six quarto pages. It contains about four thousand Delaware words, of the Minsi dialect. The original manuscript is in the library of Harvard University. Another manuscript dictionary of the Delaware (the Unami dialect), believed to be the work of the Rev. C. F. Dencke, a missionary to the Indians in Canada, who died in 1839, is in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pa. It has been carefully edited by Dr. Brinton and the Rev. Albert Seqa-kind Anthony (a native Delaware missionary), and published in 1889, in a handsome small quarto volume of two hundred and thirty-six pages, giving about three thousand seven hundred words. These three works—the grammar and the two dictionaries—are the principal sources of information regarding the language spoken by the New Jersey Indians two centuries ago. The only really philosophical analysis of the language is given by Dr. Brinton, in his "Lenâpé and their Legends," already so freely quoted in this work. As illustrating the peculiar mode of expressing ideas by modifications of a single theme, he gives this example of the combinations of the root *ni*, I, mine :

I. In a good sense :

Nihilleu, it is I, or mine.

Nihillatschi, self, oneself.

Nihillapewi, free.

Nihillapewit, freeman.

Nihillasowagan, freedom, liberty.

Nihillapeuken, to make free, to redeem.

Nihillapeukoalid, the Redeemer, the Saviour.

II. In a bad sense.

¹ *Nihillan*, he is mine to beat, I beat him.

² *Nihillan*, I beat him to death, I kill him.

Nihillowen, I put him to death, I murder him.

Nihillowet, a murderer.

Nihillowerwi, murderous.

III. In a demonstrative sense.

ne ; plural, *nek* or *nell*, this, that, the.

Nall, *nan*, *nanne*, *nanni*, this one, that one.

Nill, these.

Naninga, those gone, dead.

IV. In a possessive sense.

Nitalon, in-my-having, I can, am able, know how.

Nitais, of-my-family, sister-in-law.

Nitis, of-mine, a friend, companion.

Nitsch ! my child, exclamation of fondness.

Thus the same root is used to express ideas so opposite as freedom and slavery, murder and Saviour.

The inseparable pronouns, *n*, *k*, and *w* or *u* or *o*, in the first, second and third persons, respectively, are used as prefixes with words expressing objects and actions. for example :

Nooch, my father.

Noochena, our father.

Kooch, thy father.

Koochuwa, your father.

Ochwall, his or her father.

Ochuwarwall, their father.

Hacki, earth ; *hakihacan*, plantation.

N'dakihacan, my plantation.

N'dakihacanena, our plantation.

K'dakihacan, thy plantation.

K'dakihacanena, your plantation.

W'dakihacan, his plantation.

W'dakihacanorwall, their plantation.

These inseparable pronouns are the same for nouns and verbs, and are used in the nominative, possessive and accu-

¹ Accent on the first syllable.

² Accent on the second syllable.

sative cases, and in both numbers, without change. Vowel changes, accent and emphasis played an important part in the spoken language, effecting great differences in the meaning of words otherwise apparently the same. Students of the Indian languages often doubt if there is any fixed rule of accent or pronunciation. There appears to have been a tendency among the Lenape to place the emphasis on the penult in words of two syllables, and on the antepenult in words of more than two syllables, but so far as this was the practice, it was modified by the laws altering the meaning of a word through the emphasis. Changes in the consonants are also frequent among Indians, even of the same tribe. Not only were there permutations of consonants of the same class, but often of labials into dentals, of liquids into sibilants. Zeisberger says the Delawares (meaning those in the northern part of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Minsis) had no *f* nor *r* in their language, and those consonants have no place in his grammar and dictionary; nor are they found in the Lenâpé-English dictionary which has been cited in these pages. On the other hand, Campanius, the Swedish missionary in West Jersey, says that the Indians in that section had no *l* in their language; that they called themselves *Renni renape*, instead of *Lenni Lenape*. But it is hardly safe to accept these statements as absolutely correct in either case. Names of places and of persons show that the sound of *r* was not unknown in Northern New Jersey, nor the sound of *l* in West Jersey. Allowance must be always made for the accuracy with which persons hear and distinguish between the sounds of a foreign tongue.

The careless assumption that the Indian languages undergo great and constant changes in brief periods, because they are spoken and not written tongues, finds emphatic contradiction in the case of the Lenâpé. We have the numerals as recorded by Campanius in 1645, in the Swedish alphabet; by Thomas, in 1695, in English; by Zeisberger, about 1750, in German, and by Lieut. Whipple, on the Pacific railroad survey, in 1855, when he found a party of the Delawares in Kansas. From a comparison¹ it will be seen that, allowing

¹ Made in Brinton's Lenâpé and their Legends,

for the differences in pronunciation by the different recorders, the Indian words have undergone practically no change in two hundred and fifty years :

| | Campanius. 1645 | Thomas. 1695 | Zeisberger. 1750 | Whipple. 1855 |
|----|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 1 | Ciutte | Kooty | Ngutti | Cote |
| 2 | Nissa | Nisha | Nischa | Nisha |
| 3 | Naha | Natcha | Nacha | Naha |
| 4 | Naevvo | Neo | Newo | Neewah |
| 5 | Pareenach | Pelenach | Palenach | Pahlenahk |
| 6 | Ciuttas | Kootash | Guttasch | Cottasch |
| 7 | Nissas | Nishash | Nischasch | Nishasch |
| 8 | Haas | Choesh | Chasch | Hasch |
| 9 | Paeschum | Peshonk | Peschkonk | Pesco |
| 10 | Thaeren | Telen | Tellen. | Telen. |

It would be difficult to find two persons unfamiliar with the Indian language, who, hearing these numerals uttered by a Delaware to-day, would write them down more nearly alike than they are given above as taken from the different authors named.¹

A careful comparison of the Lenape with other Algonquian languages shows that it has departed from the purity of the parent stock. These changes have been effected partly by environment, partly by climatic influences, and possibly in part by long contact, either as neighbors or as conquerors, with tribes who occupied New Jersey before their own arrival from their home in the Far North. A closer study of the language may some day throw more light on the share these several influences have had in the modification of the Lenâpé.

In his grammar Zeisberger gives paradigms of eight conjugations of verbs, through the active, passive, personal and

¹ Jan de Laet, who was the first to describe the New Netherlands, in 1625, gives the numerals thus: 1. Cotté; 2. Nysse; 3. Nacha; 4. Wyue (probably a typographical error for Nyue); 5. Parenag; 6. Cottash; 7. Nysas; 8. Gechas; 9. Pescon; 10. Terren. He says this was according to the language of the Sanhikans (about Trenton). See Johannes de Laet *Antwerpiani Notæ ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii De Origine Gentium Americanarum*, etc. Amstelodami, 1643, p. 174. The pronunciation should be according to the Dutch.

reciprocal forms, positive and negative, with the five or six transitions of each mood. A single specimen must suffice :

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ahoalan, to love | |
| N'dahoala, I love. | N'dahoalaneen, we love. |
| K'dahoala, thou lovest. | K'dahoalohhumo, you love. |
| Ahoaleu or W'dahoala, he loves. | Ahoalewak, they love. |

The past tense is formed in the singular by adding *ep* to the verb, and in the plural by adding *ap*, and the future tense by the use of the suffix *tsch*. The negative is formed by the prefix *atta* : Atta n'doahawi, I do not love. The passive by the suffix *gussi* : N'dahoalgussi, etc. In the negative form, past tense, Atta w'dahoalgussiwipannik, they were not loved ; in the future : Atta n'dahoalgussiwunee-tschi, we shall not be loved. In the fourth transition : K'dahoalohhumowuneeen,¹ we do not love you.

It must not be inferred that the Lenape was as elegant or as copious as the Greek, or Latin, or English ; but it is evident from what has been said that it had a very elaborate construction. Its very richness or redundancy of inflections, however, is regarded by scholars as a sign of its primitiveness. This is another reason why its study should interest us, as it represents a stage in the development of human language thousands of years older than our own vernacular. It shows the mental process of men in a state of barbarism ; how objects, facts, ideas were apprehended by them. This mental process may be illustrated by a specimen of the Lenape language (in the Unami or West Jersey dialect), as given by Dr. Brinton, in his *Lanâpé* and their *Legends*, from an unpublished manuscript in the library of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, the passage being the parable related in Matthew XXII, 1-5 :

1. Woak Jesus wtabptonalawoll woak lapi nuwuntschi
 And Jesus he-spoke-with-them and again he-began
 Enendhackewoagannall nelih woak wtellawoll.
 parables them-to and he-said-to-them.

2. Ne Wusakimawoagan Patamauwoss (wtelligui)
 (mallaschi)
 The his-kingdom God it-is-like

¹ In the citations from Zeisberger the letters should be sounded as in German ; the apostrophe indicates a breathing.

mejauchsid Sakima, na Quisall mall'nitauwan
 certain King, his-son he-made-for-him
 Witach-pungewiwuladtpoâgan.
 marriage.

3. Woak wtellallocâlan wtallocacannall, wentschitsch nek
 And he-sent-out his-servants the-bidding the
 Elendpannik lih Witachpungewiwuladtpoâgannûng
 those-bidden to marriage
 wentschimcussowoak ; tschuk necamawa schingipawak.
 those-who-were-bidden, but they they-were-unwill-
 ing.

4. Woak lapi wtellallocâlan pili wtallocacannall woak
 And again he-sent-out other servants and
 (panni) (penna)
 wtella (wolli) ; Mauwiloh nen Elendpannik, (schita)
 he-said-to-them those the-bidden
 Nolachtûppoâgan 'nkischachtûppui, nihillalachkik
 the-feast I-have-made-the-feast they-are-killed
 Wisuhengpannik auwessissak nemætschi nhillapannik
 they-fattened-them beasts the-whole I-killed-them
 woak weemi ktaköcku 'ngischachtûppui, peeltik lih
 and all I-have-finished come to
 Witachpungewiwuladtpoâgannûng.
 marriage.

5. Tschuk necamawa mattelemawoawollnenni, woak
 But they they-esteemed-it-not and
 ewak ika, mejauchsid enda wtakihâcannûng, napilli
 went away certain thither to-his-plantation-place other
 nihillatschi (M'hallamawachtowoagannûng)
 (Nundauchsowoagannûng)
 to-merchandise-place.

The following is the Lord's prayer in Delaware (Minsi dialect), from Zeisberger's Spelling Book (1776) and History of our Lord (1806). Pronounce *a* like *aw* in *law* ; *e* like *ay* in *say* ; *i* like *ee* ; *u* like *oo* or *ou* in *you* ; *ch* nearly like Scottish *gh* ; *j* like English *i* in *in* ; *g* like *g* in *gay*. For the termination of the verbal noun, here printed *-wâgan*, Zeisberger has *-woagan* ; Heckewelder, *wagan*. The translation is by Heckewelder :

(Ki) Wetochemellenk, (talli) epian awossagame :
 Thou our-Father there dwelling beyond the clouds
 Machelendasutsch ktellewunsowâgan ;
 Magnified (or praised) be thy name.

Ksakimawāgan pejewiketsch ;
Thy kingdom come-on

Ktelitehewāgan leketsch talli achquidhakamike elgiqui
Thy-thoughts (will, intention) come-to-pass here upon (or,
leek tulli awossagame ;
all-over-the) earth, the same as it is there in heaven
(or, beyond the clouds)

Milineen juke gischquik gunigischuk achpoan ; [bread
Give-to-us on (or, through) this day the-usual (or, daily)

Woak miwelendamau(w)ineen 'ntschanasowāgannena,
And forgive us our-transgressions (faults) the same-as

elgiqui niluna miweledamauwenk nik
we-mutually-forgive-them who (or, those) who
tschetschanilawemquengik ;
have-transgressed (or, injured) us

Woak katschi npawuneen li achquetschiechtowāganink ;
And let-not us-come-to-that that we-fall-into-temptation

Schukund ktennineen untshi medhikink ;
But (rather) keep-us free from all-evil

Ntite knihillatamen ksakimawāgan, woak ktallewussowāgan,
For thou-claimest thy-kingdom and the-superior-power

woak ktallowilissowāgan ; (ne wuntschi hallemiwi) li
and all-magnificence. From henceforth
hallamagamik. Amen.
ever (always). Amen.¹

In his introduction to Zeisberger's grammar² the learned Duponceau enthusiastically declares : " There is no shade of idea in respect to time, place and manner of action which an Indian verb cannot express, and the modes of expression which they make use of are so numerous, that if they were to be considered as parts of the conjugation of each verb, one single paradigm might fill a volume." One of his examples is this : *n'mitzi*, I eat (in a general sense); *n'mamitsi*, I am eating (at this moment, now); *n'schingiwipoma*, I do not like to eat with him.

The greatest singer of the nineteenth century has declared that man, in his vain efforts to voice the loftiest aspirations of the human soul, is but

¹ Quoted from Notes on Forty Algonkin Versions of the Lord's Prayer, by J. Hammond Trumbull, Hartford, 1873, p. 49.

² P. 84.

An infant crying in the night,
An infant crying in the light,
And with no language but a cry !

When Tennyson was thus at a loss, what wonder if the untutored savage of primeval America had but shadowy notions of the origins of men and things, of the future life, the spirit land, and of the mysterious influences which he felt were constantly shaping his destinies for good or ill—in short, of religion ?

The Algonkins everywhere regarded the turtle as the creator of all things, doubtless because of its amphibian character. According to the traditions of the Lenâpé, the turtle supports the earth—which was considered an island—on its back.¹ In 1679, an Indian, eighty years old, called Jasper or Tantaqué, living at Hackensack or at Acquackanonk, described the origin of the world thus : “ He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. ‘ This,’ said he, ‘ is a tortoise, lying in the water around it,’ and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, ‘ this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.’ He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, ‘ the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was then alone, and would have remained alone ; but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there

¹ Heckewelder, 253. The same myth exists among the Mayas of Central America, and among the Hindoos. The Iroquois have a whimsical tale to the effect that a big fat turtle so blistered his shoulders in walking fast one hot day that he finally walked out of his shell altogether ; the process of transformation went on, and in time he became a man, who was the progenitor of the Turtle clan. See “ Myths of the Iroquois,” by Mrs. Erminnie A. Smith, in *Second Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, 1880-81, p. 77.

grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."¹

Another aged Indian, called Hans, living near Bergen, said that "the first and great beginning of all things, was *Kickeron* or *Kickerom*, who is the origin of all, who has not only once produced or made all things, but produces every day. All that we see daily that is good, is from him; and everything he makes and does is good. He governs all things, and nothing is done without his aid and direction. 'And,' he continued, 'I, who am a Captain and Sakemaker among the Indians; and also a medicine-man, and have performed many good cures among them, experience every day that all medicines do not cure, if it do not please him to cause them to work.'" Being told of what Tantaqué had said of the tortoise, how it had brought forth the world, or that all things had come from it: "That was true, he replied, but *Kickeron* made the tortoise, and the tortoise had a power and a nature to produce all things, such as earth, trees, and the like, which God wished through it to produce, or have produced."²

Living so close to nature as did these dusky sons of the forest, it is not strange that they looked upon the earth as their universal mother. The Minsis had a legend that in the beginning they dwelt in the earth under a lake, from which they accidentally discovered a way to the surface—to the light. The other Lenâpé tribes had the same story, except as to the lake.³ "They had some confused Notion of the Flood, and said: All men were once drowned, only a few got on the Back of an old big Tortoise, floating on the Water; that a Diver at last brought them some Earth in his Bill, and directed the Tortoise to a small

¹ Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-80, by Jaspar Dankers and Peter Sluyter. Translated by Henry C. Murphy, Brooklyn, N. Y., pp. 150-51. [Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society, Vol. I.]

² *Ib.*, 267-8. "As for *Kikeron*, the eternally active, hidden spirit of the universe, * * we may, with equal correctness, translate it Life, Light, Action or Energy. It is the abstract conception back of all these." —*Brinton's Lenâpé*, 133.

³ Heckewelder, 249, 250; Ettwein, 30, 31.

Spot of Ground, where they alighted and multiplied again. Therefore has the great Tortoise Tribe the Preference among the Tribes."¹ This deluge myth is known to all the Algonkin tribes, and to most others in America. "Others say, the first Person had been a Woman, which fell from Heaven * * * and bore Twins, which peopled this Country."² Or, as heard by Lindstrom, a Swedish engineer, about 1650, this woman bore a son, who grew up to be a wonderfully wise and good man, who performed many miracles, and at last went up to heaven, promising to return.³ These legends are regarded by Dr. Brinton as variations of the myth so universal among the most widely-dispersed races of mankind, wherein the ever-recurring phenomena of light and darkness are personified.⁴ It would seem that such an idealization of familiar phenomena could be possible only among a people far more advanced in culture than our New Jersey Indians, and it is to be regretted that we have not more definite information on this point regarding their beliefs.

It is certain that they held in veneration fire and light, and their common source, the sun; and by a natural deduction, the sun's place of rising—the east. "They directed their Children in their Prayers to turn their face towards the East, because God hath his dwelling on the other Side of the rising Sun."⁵ Another (Swedish) author writing half a century earlier than Bishop Ettwein, in describing the sacrifices made by the Indians, in which they burned tobacco, says: *Ex qua re, quia sicubi fumus adscendit in altum; ita sacrificulus, duplicata altiori voce, Kännakä, kännakä, vel aliquando hoo, hoo, faciem versus orientem convertit.*"⁶ "Whereupon, as the smoke ascends on high,

¹ Ettwein, 30.

² *Ib.*, 31.

³ Campanius, 139; *Essays of an Americanist*, 182-3.

⁴ *The Myths of the New World*, as cited, Capters v, vii, viii; *American Hero-Myths*, as cited, *passim*; *The Religious Sentiment*, by Daniel G. Brinton, New York, 1876, Chap. v.

⁵ Ettwein, 30.

⁶ *Dissertatio Gradualis, De Plantatione Ecclesiæ Svecanæ In America, Quam, Suffragante Ampl. Senatu Philosoph. in Regio Upsal. Athenæo,*

the sacrificer crying with a loud voice, *Kännakä, hännakä*, or sometimes *hoo, hoo*, turns his face toward the East." Loskiel, indeed, says fire is considered as the first parent of all Indian nations, and he minutely describes the sacrifice in its honor. "Twelve *manittos* attend him as subordinate

Præside, Viro Amplissimo atque Celeberrimo Mag. Andrea Brorwall Eth. & Polit. Prof. Reg. & Ord. In Audit. Gust. Maj. d. 14 Jun. An. MDCCXXXI. Examinandam modeste sistit Tobias E. Björck. Americano-Dalekarius. Upsaliæ Literis Wernerianis, p. 28. Björck evidently believed himself to be a poet and a linguist, for he dedicates his Dissertation to Count Charles Gyllenborg, in this sort of English, referring to the Swedes in "Pennsilvani-Wood:"

How Swedish Church is planted there,
Of Swedish Priests and Sheeps,
On both they Sides of *de la Ware*,
Among great many Heaps,
Of diverse Sects and Indians,
Is now, *My Lord*, the Same,
I am perswaded of my Brains,
To offer Your great Name.

Tobias Eric Björck was born in New Sweden, being the son of Ericus Björck (so he signed his name) and Christina (daughter of Peter Stalcap, also a native of the Swedish colony) his wife. Eric Björck was a tutor at Westmania, Sweden, when he was commissioned by King Charles XI. in 1696 as one of three missionaries for New Sweden. He was ordained at Upsal, sailed 4 August, and from London on 4 February following, arriving at Christina, Del., in June, 1697. In 1698 he secured the erection of a new church, where he ministered until 1713, when he was succeeded by Andrew Hesselius. On 12 August, 1713, he was appointed Provost of the Swedish Lutheran congregations in America, but having been given a desirable charge in Sweden by the King, he sailed 29 June, 1714, with his wife and five children (Tobias among them)—"the first American family given back to Sweden." He died in 1740.—*Björck*, as cited, 11-20; *Acrelius*, 198, 264-274; *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, by the Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, Philadelphia, 1835, 54-95, 152; *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, etc., by Benjamin Ferris, Wilmington, 1846, 153-166, 179-80. He read the service for some time in the English church at Appoquinick, and in an address by the clergy in Pennsylvania to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was declared to be "a gentleman of great worth, learning and piety and upon whose qualifications we could make a very large and just encomium."—*Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, edited by William Stevens Perry, D. D., Volume II.—Pennsylvania, Printed for the Subscribers, MDCCCLXXI., 61, 63. From the prefatory letter of Andrew Hesselius, published in the *Dissertatio Gradualis* of Tobias Björck, as well as from his own poem, partly quoted above, it seems that Tobias designed coming to America as a missionary; but no record of him in that capacity has been found.

deities, being partly animals and partly vegetables. A large oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of *twelve* poles, each of a different species of wood. These they run into the ground, tie them together at the top, and cover them entirely with blankets, joined close together. The oven is heated with *twelve* large stones made red hot. Then *twelve* men creep into it, and remain there as long as they can bear the heat. Meanwhile an old man throws *twelve* pipes full of tobacco upon the hot stones, which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate the persons" in the oven.¹ The recurrence of the number *twelve* evidently refers to the months into which the year is divided. "In great danger, an Indian has been observed to lie prostrate on his face, and throwing a handful of tobacco into the fire, to call aloud, as in an agony of distress, 'There, take and smoke, be pacified, and don't hurt me.'"²

The Lenâpé, in common with the Americans in general, were firm believers in a future life, and in rewards for the good. David Brainerd gives the best account of their views: "They seem to have some confused notion about a future state of existence, and many of them imagine that the *chichung*,³ i. e., the *shadow*, or what survives the body, will at death go *southward*, and in an unknown but curious place, will enjoy some kind of happiness, such as, hunting, feasting, dancing and the like. What they suppose will contribute much to their happiness in that state is, that they shall never be weary of those entertainments."⁴ And he adds, with an unusually sagacious attempt to comprehend and explain an Indian myth in a common-sense way: "It seems by this notion of their going *southward* to obtain happiness, as if they had their course into these parts

¹ Loskiel, 42; Ettwein, 37; The Journal of a Two-Months Tour, etc., by Charles Beatty, A. M., London, 1768, 85-6. Mr. Beatty was a pious missionary, and a zealous and intelligent observer of the manners and customs of the Delawares and their kindred, the Shawnese.

² Loskiel, 45.

³ From the root *tschitsch*, indicating repetition, or a man's double, or shadow.

⁴ Brainerd, as cited, 346. Cf. William Penn, as cited, 101; Loskiel, 36.

of the world from some very cold climate, and found the further they went southward the more comfortable they were; and thence concluded, that perfect felicity was to be found further towards the same point."¹ An intelligent Indian once told him "that the souls of *good* folks would be happy, and the souls of *bad* folks miserable." By "bad folks" he meant "those who lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbors, are unkind to their friends, and especially to aged parents, and, in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." Not a bad definition that!

Notwithstanding the belief in a future state of existence, it had little influence on the daily life of the Indian. "That which occupies the attention of the savage mind relates to the pleasures and pains, the joys and sorrows of present existence. * * * Life, health, prosperity, and peace are the ends sought."² Not so different, after all, from the whites who in 1776 declared that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" were the grand ends to be aimed at by all governments. But the mysteries of life and death, and the belief in a future state, undoubtedly had their effect on these primitive people in leading up to the conception of a supernatural influence, or rather influences, expressed in the word *Manito*³—the Wonder-worker;⁴ signifying some spiritual and mysterious power thought to exist in a material form.⁵ This influence resided in every animal, tree, rock or other object which the lively fancy or the fears of the savage endowed with supernatural power over his fortunes. According to Wassenaer,⁶ their "forefathers for many thousand moons" had told them of good and evil spirits, to whose honor, he supposed, they burned fires or sacrifices, as they wished to stand well with the good spirits. Biörck gives an amusing account of how they

¹ *Ib.*, 346.

² Powell, in Seventh Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1891, xxxvii, xxxviii.

³ Pronounced mah-*nee*-to, the accent on the second syllable.

⁴ Heckewelder MSS., cited in Brinton's *Lenâpé*, 219.

⁵ Dorman, as cited, 226.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 19.

viewed their *manitos*: "As for their religion, if religion it can be called," says he, "they acknowledge two Gods or spirits, which they call *Manetto's*. One they call the ruler of celestial affairs, the other of terrestrial. The former, because he is good, they neither worship nor fear; but the latter, because he is evil, they perversely esteem to be both feared and adored."¹ The testimony of Van der Donck tends to corroborate this account of the politic conduct of the wily Indian. God, they said, "will not punish or do any injury to any person, and therefore takes no concern to himself in the common affairs of the world, nor does he meddle with the same, except that he has ordered the devil to take care of those matters." Hence, they were obliged to fear the devil, and try to preserve his friendship, even by sometimes casting a piece to him in the fire.² There is a touch of human nature in this frank philosophy that shows the rude savage to be akin to his white brother of the nineteenth century. As David Brainerd observed, there was no appearance of reverence and devotion in the worship of these invisible powers, and "what they do of this nature, seems to be done only to appease the supposed anger of their deities, to engage them to be placable to themselves, and do them no hurt, or at most, only to invite these powers to succeed [prosper] them in those enterprises they are engaged in respecting the present life. So that in offering these sacrifices, they seem to have no reference to a future state, but only to present comfort."³ Some further particulars concerning the *manito* are given by Loskiel: "They understand by the word *manitto*, every being, to which an offering is made, especially all good spirits. They also look upon the elements, almost all animals, and even some plants, as spirits, one [no one?] exceeding the other in dignity and power. * * * The

¹ Biörck, as cited, 27. The author gives a hideous woodcut of a "Manetto Indianorum"—a nondescript creature with a body like a lizard, two fore-legs with distended claws, and a head something like a horse's, breathing forth volumes of vapor or smoke.

² Van der Donck, as cited, 216.

³ Brainerd, 347.

manittos are also considered as tutelary spirits. Every Indian has one or more," revealed to him in a dream.¹

From the various accounts which have come down to us, and from what we now know of the laws governing human development, it is evident that the Indian's conception of *manito* was simply that of a mysterious influence, in general, whether for good or evil, manifesting itself through a thousand instrumentalities. The definite conception of a Great Spirit (*Kitschi Manito*) or of an Evil Spirit was undoubtedly derived from the whites.

Every Indian carried about with him as an amulet or charm a figure of the animal or object which represented his particular *manito*—a figure of the sun or moon or other object, or a mask of a human face, carved in wood or stone or bone; this was tied up in a bag and hung about his neck²—a custom that prevails among most nations to-day.

The manner of worship of the Indians horrified the early missionaries, who forgot the descriptions in Hebrew and classical lore of the sacred and festive dances among the peoples of Europe and Asia. Brainerd was intensely grieved one Sunday morning when he tried to get the Indians together that he might instruct them from the fascinating pages of the Shorter Catechism, "but soon found they had something else to do, for near noon they gathered together all their *powwows*, or conjurers, and set about half a dozen of them playing their juggling tricks, and setting their frantic distracted postures, in order to find out why they were then so sickly. * * In this exercise they were engaged for several hours, making all the wild, ridiculous and distracted motions imaginable; sometimes singing; sometimes howling; sometimes extending their hands to the utmost stretch, and spreading all their fingers,—they seemed to push with them as if they designed to push something away, or at least

¹ Loskiel, 39-40; Dorman, 22; Biörck, 27; Roger Williams, Key, 110.

² Loskiel, 39; Biörck, 27-28. Pictures of two of these mask *manitos* or charms worn by Minsi or Muncey Indians are given opposite page 83 of the "History of the Ojebway Indians; with especial reference to their conversion to Christianity." By Rev. Peter Jones, (Kahkewaquaonaby,) Indian Missionary, etc. London: 1861. One of sandstone, found at Trenton, is pictured in Abbott's Primitive Industry, p. 394.

keep it off at arm's-end ; sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then spurting water fine as mist ; sometimes sitting flat on the earth, then bowing down their faces to the ground ; then wringing their sides as if in pain and anguish, twisting their faces, turning up their eyes, grunting, puffing, &c." To the saintly young missionary all this savored only of the devil, and he became so impressed with the weird spectacle that he really began to half expect Satan himself to appear ; so, he says—and there is a queer pathos in his naive confession : " I sat at a small distance, not more than thirty feet from them, though undiscovered, *with my bible in my hand*, resolving, if possible, to spoil their sport, and *prevent their receiving any answers from the infernal world*. They continued their hideous charms and incantations for more than three hours, until they had all wearied themselves out ; although they had in that space of time taken several intervals of rest, and at length broke up, I apprehended, *without receiving any answer at all*."¹

Certain sacrifices were held at stated periods. A family feast was held once in two years, to which all the relatives and neighbors were invited. After dinner the men and women engaged in a solemn dance, while a singer walked up and down, rattling a small tortoise-shell filled with pebbles, and chanting an appropriate recital. At another feast, ten or more old men or women wrapped themselves in tanned deer-skins, and with faces turned toward the east uttered prayers.² The festival in honor of fire has been described. They also had sacrificial dances in honor of the first-fruits (the green-corn dance), hunting, fishing, and other special occasions.³ The earliest description we have of any of these sacrifices is found in Biörck's little book, which is so rare, and has been so seldom (if ever) referred to by other writers on the American Indians, that some extracts may be worth giving :

"A hut having been constructed, with due ceremony, and covered with bark and skins, is surrounded by several

¹ Brainerd, 235-6.

² Loskiel, 40-41 ; Ettwein, 36.

³ Biörck, 28.

persons. The priest places some tobacco on stones, heated with fire, and directly another follows and pours water on them. Whereupon, as the vapor ascends on high, the priest cries with a loud voice, *Kännäka, kännäka*, or sometimes *hoo, hoo*, and turns his face toward the east. While some are silent during the sacrifice, certain make a ridiculous speech, while others imitate the cock, the squirrel and other animals, and make all kinds of noises. During the shouting, two roasted deer are distributed, one with bread from maize, cooked by the magicians, called by them *Kankis*.¹ But the sacrificing priest eats nothing." So much for the hunting or deer sacrifice.

The first-fruits sacrifice he describes as witnessed by the Rev. Andrew Hesselius:² "The families gather the first-fruits of roots, which grow in swamps, not unlike nuts, called *Tachis*, or by the English, *hopnuts*. These are first dried in a pot in the sun, or placed over the fire in a copper vessel, and cooked during the day. While this cooking is going on, and some are dancing in a circle, an Indian woman advances, her hair streaming down upon her shoulders, and with a spoon (or tortoise shell) stirs up the mass repeatedly, and throws a certain portion into the fire, which act is greeted with a shout by the approving dancers circling about. Piece by piece they devour the food thus prepared for them on this occasion."³

¹ "Inter vociferendum hospitibus distributi sunt 2 cervi cocti, una cum pane ex frumentum, (quod nos vulgo vocamus triticum Turcicum) Majis pisto, illis Kankis nominato."

² Andrew Hesselius, Master of Philosophy, was commissioned in 1711 by Charles XII., King of Sweden, to be a missionary to New Sweden, to succeed Pastor Eric Björck, and was in charge of the church at Christina from 1713 until 1723, when he returned to Sweden. He labored earnestly for the conversion of the Indians, though without success. In 1725 he published "A Short Relation of the present condition of the Swedish Church in America." A letter written by him in excellent English to Tobias Björck occupies three pages of the latter's little book. He died in 1733.—*Acrelius*, 272-4; *Jehu Curtis Clay*, as cited, 94, 102-3, 112-13, 152; *Benjamin Ferris*, as cited, 179-181. While in this country he frequently preached in the vacant English churches, "fluently and with good success."—*Hist. Coll. Am.Col. Ch. in Penn.*, as cited, 123-4, 128-9, 132.

³ Björck, 29. Cf. Ettwein, 36-37; Roger Williams, 111-112; *Hist. Ojebway Indians*, as cited, 95-96; Thomas, Pennsylvania, 2; William

The same author adds that "this and other sacrifices of the Americans they call, from a native word of their own, *Kinticka*, i. e., a festive gathering, or a wedding." Every important event in the life—or death—of the Indian was celebrated with dance and song. "The Canticco," says Penn, "is performed by round Dances, sometimes Words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts; two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a Board, direct the Chorus; their Postures in the Dance are very antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of Joy."¹ When a young Indian warrior was being murdered by inches by the Dutch soldiers in Fort Amsterdam, in 1644, with revolting cruelties which caused the squaws to cry shame! he "desired them to permit him to dance the *Kinte kaye*, a religious use observed by them before death," and continued to dance and chant his death-song till he dropped dead under the knives of his inhuman captors.² A pleasanter picture is that given by Van der Donck, in 1653, who says: "Feast days are concluded by old and middle aged with smoking, by the young with a *kintecaw*, singing and dancing."³ In 1663, during the war between the Dutch and the Esopus Indians, we are told that the latter "kintecoyed and deliberated" how they might best attack New Amsterdam,⁴ and that they "made a great uproar every night, firing guns and *kintekaying*."⁵ As the surest way to get the Indians together, it was proposed by one of their own tribe

Penn, as cited, 101; Brainerd, 235; Wassenauer, 20, 29. The Rev. Charles Beatty, in his "Journal of a Two-Months' Tour" among the Delaware and Shawnee Indians west of the Allegheny mountains, London, 1768, and Edinburgh, 1798 (the latter edition being published as an appendix to Brainerd's Journal), describes these several festivals quite minutely.

¹ William Penn, as cited, 101; also in "The Life of William Penn; with selections from his correspondence and auto-biography," by Samuel M. Janney, Philadelphia, 1852, p. 233; also in Penn. Archives, I., 69.

² N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV., 67.

³ Van der Donck, as cited, 203; Cf. Denton, 11.

⁴ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 299.

⁵ N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV., 43; N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 334.

in 1671 to "cause a *kinticoy* to be held."¹ In 1675 the Indian sachems of New Jersey were highly pleased with the promises and presents of Gov. Andros, and "they return thanks and fall a *kintacoying* with expressions of thanks, singing *kenon, kenon*."² No doubt the gestures of the participants in these ceremonial dances, though "antic" and "ridiculous" to the white spectators, had a conventional symbolic significance perfectly understood by the Indians.

The serpent, with other animals, was held in reverence by the aborigines,³ and naturally its mysterious movements and fatal bite caused it to be regarded with peculiar awe. That it was worshiped by the Americans in general is certain, but the only testimony regarding the attitude of the Lenâpé toward it is the vague account of Wassenauer, who describes the *Kitzinacka* (Big-Snake) as a priest who had no house of his own, but lodged where he pleased, or where he last officiated; was a celibate, and ate food prepared only by a maiden or an old woman.⁴ He tells elsewhere how the Indians placed a kettle full of all sorts of articles in a hole in a hill. "When there is a great quantity collected, a snake comes in, then they all depart, and the *Manittou*, that is the Devil, comes in the night and takes the kettle away, according to the statement of the *Koutsinacka*, or Devil hunter, who presides over the ceremony."⁵

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., XII., 485.

² N. Y. Col. Docs., XII., 524; 2 Penn. Archives, VII., 769. In Zeisberger's dictionary he gives the word *genigeen*, to dance (*gintkaan*, in the Lenâpé-English dictionary); *gêntge*, a dance, *gentgaat*, a dancer. This would seem to be the origin of the word. But in the *Lexique de la Langue Algonquine*, by J. A. Cuoq, Montreal, 1886, we have the root *kinda-*, qui enfonce, who breaks open, thrusts, routs; whence *kindaacka*, which would convey the idea of violent pushing and jostling in the wild dance. Not unlike this is the root *kinika-*, pell-mell, also suggestive of the characteristics of the *kintacoy*. Dr. Brinton (Lenâpé, p. 72) thinks the word is derived from a verbal found in most Algonkin dialects with the primary meaning to sing.

³ Biörck, 27.

⁴ Wassenauer, as cited, 20.

⁵ Wassenauer, 29. This custom is attributed by Wassenauer to the *Sickenanes*, who were an Algonkin tribe near or upon the Connecticut river.—N. Y. Col. Docs., II., 139.

As the Indians regarded every ill, whether to life, health or prosperity, as the work of a *manito*, the functions of priest and physician were united in one person, called, as we have seen, a *Powaw* (dreamer, clairvoyant), a *Medcu* (medicine man, conjurer), or *Kitsinacka* (Big-Snake doctor). "Some of these diviners" (or priests), says Brainerd, "are endowed with the spirit in infancy ; others in adult age. It seems not to depend upon their own will, nor to be acquired by any endeavours of the person who is the subject of it, although it is supposed to be given to children sometimes in consequence of some means which the parents use with them for that purpose."¹ Usually, however, the boys were initiated into the order at the age of twelve or fourteen years, with very trying ceremonies, fasting, want of sleep, and other tests of their physical and mental stamina.² Although we have no account of such a custom, it is very probable that among the Lenâpé, as among the kindred Ojibways to this day, there were successive initiations into higher degrees in the Big Medicine Lodge, according to the skill or prowess of the aspiring medicine-man.³ Loskiel says that old men, unable to hunt, sometimes became physicians (and priests), "in order to procure a comfortable livelihood ;" others who had been instru-

¹ Brainerd, 348.

² Loskiel, 47 ; Gookins's Historical Collections of New England, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I., 154.

³ For a detailed account of "The Midewewin or 'Grand Medicine Society,' of the Ojibwa, by W. J. Hoffman, see Seventh Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1891, 143-300. Mr. Hoffman says there are several classes of Shamans or mystery-men among the Ojibways: the *Jessakid*, who is commonly called a juggler, but by the Indians is defined as a "revealer of hidden truths," or a seer and prophet; the *Wabeno*, or dreamer, especially inspired by evil manidos; the *Mashkikikewimini*, or medicine-men, whose specialty is in herbs; the *Mide*, in the true sense of the word, is a Shaman, though called by various writers a powow, medicine-man, priest, seer, prophet, etc. The Midewiwin—Society of the Mide or Shamans—consists of an indefinite number of Mide of both sexes, and is graded into four degrees. The Rev. Peter Jones, in his "History of the Ojebway Indians," already cited, gives a brief account of these priests and their initiation, and some extraordinary instances of their power in foretelling events. See pp. 143-152, 269.

mental in curing the sick, were regarded as supernaturally endowed, and had to join the ranks of the priesthood, but very many declared, and perhaps believed, that they had been called in a dream to separate themselves from their fellows.¹

Brainerd gives a vivid description of one of these shamans: "Of all the sights I ever saw among them, or indeed anywhere else, none appeared so frightful or so near akin to what is usually imagined of infernal powers, none ever excited such images of terror in my mind, as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous reformer, or rather, restorer, of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians. He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of bearskins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bearskin stockings [leggings], and a great wooden face painted, the one half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bearskin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand, which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise shell, with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen. No one would have imagined from his appearance or actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him, although it was then noonday, and I knew who it was; his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful. He had a house consecrated to religious uses, with divers images cut upon the several parts of it. I went in, and found the ground beat almost as hard as a rock, with their frequent dancing upon it."²

¹ Loskiel, 109, 110, 112.

² Brainerd, 237-8. Similar accounts are given by Loskiel, 111, and Heckewelder, 235-6. See also Hoffman, as cited.

The intrepid Zeisberger himself was awed by the apparent wonder-working powers of these Indian priests. "He disbelieved the stories he heard of what they could do until several of them who had been converted unfolded to him things from their own past experience which forced him to acknowledge the reality of Indian sorcery. He describes three kinds of Indian magic: namely, the art to produce sudden death without the use of poison; the *matta-passigan*, a deadly charm by which epidemics could be brought upon entire villages, and persons at a distance sent to their graves, and the witchcraft of the *kimockwe*, who passed through the air by night, casting the inhabitants into an unnatural sleep, and then stealing what they wanted."¹

Brainerd makes the curious statement that when one of the most remarkable of these powows was converted to Christianity, he lost his power, "so much so that he no longer even knew how he used to charm and conjure, and could no longer do anything of that nature if he were ever so desirous of it."² On the other hand, an Ojibway *jossakid* who performed marvelous feats, said thirty years later, when a Christian and on his death-bed, that the wonders seen were all the work of the spirits, whose voices he heard, and whose messages he repeated. He was evidently sincere, even if self-deceived.³

The Lenâpé had not reached the stage of progress where the priestly office was separated from that of the physician, as among some of the American races. Nor were the priests or shamans a class by themselves. Anyone was eligible to enter the profession, as stated by Loskiel. Although Brainerd and other missionaries found great difficulty in convincing them of the error of their ways, they were themselves tolerant of the religious beliefs and practices of others.

¹ Zeisberger MSS., cited by De Schweinitz, 340-341. Cf. also Diary of David Zeisberger a Moravian Missionary among the Indians of Ohio translated from the original German manuscript and edited by Eugene F. Bliss, Cincinnati, 1885, II., 99, 436, etc.

² Brainerd, 305.

³ Kitchi-Gami. Wanderings round Lake Superior. By J. G. Kohl, London, 1860, 280. This is one of the best and most interesting books ever written on Indian life.

"They have a modest Religious perswasion," says Roger Williams, "not to disturb any man, either themselves, English, Dutch or any in their conscience, and worship." ¹ And although the priests tried to incite their dupes to the massacre of Zeisberger and his fellow missionaries, the Grand Council of the Delawares in 1775 decreed religious liberty. ² There was not so much merit in this toleration as would appear at first sight. With the Indian, his religion was not a matter of conscience ; there was no principle of right and wrong involved in his belief or practice. No elevation of life or thought was connected with it—nothing but the idea of material gain. It is true that we are sometimes told of individuals who had a perception of moral and ethical principles, as in the case of Ockanickon, a sachem who died about 1680 at Burlington, and was buried among the Friends there, by his own desire. Addressing his nephew, he said : "I would have thee love that which is good and to keep good company, and to refuse that which is evil. * * Always be sure to walk in a good path, and never depart out of it." And then he lapses into paganism : "Look at the sun from the rising of it to the setting of the same."³ It is not at all clear just what the old chief meant by "good" and "evil," nor whether he attached any ethical significance to the words. The few instances where it appears that some individual of the race had glimpses of a higher conception of life than his fellows, shows all the more strikingly that the religion of nature—of belief in present earthly prosperity as the highest good—had scarcely begun to undergo the transition into the religion of the spirit—the perception of the truths which pertain to eternity. The Indian had not yet learned that

There is a light above, which visible
Makes the Creator unto every creature,
Who only in beholding Him has peace.⁴

The peculiar system of government which prevailed among the primitive inhabitants of North America was

¹ Key, 113.

² Life of Zeisberger, by De Schweinitz, 422.

³ Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey in America, by Thomas Budd, as cited, 64-65 ; quoted in Smith's Hist. N. J., 149.

⁴ Dante, Paradiso, xxx, 100-102 (Longfellow's translation).

never understood by the early writers. Indeed, it is only within the past twenty or thirty years that patient investigation by scholars has revealed the principles underlying that complex institution. The study of the general subject of marriage has led to the conclusion that it was the foundation of social and governmental organization. Promiscuity of cohabitation was followed by a segregation of neighbors into groups, where the men held their wives in common—polygyny; and where the women held their husbands in common—polyandry. The children were also segregated into groups, where the young men called each other brothers, and the young women called each other sisters; the sisters of the young men would be the wives of another group, the latter being the brothers of the wives of the first group. In time the family was developed, with a single head, either father or mother, the former being the patriarchal form of family government, and the latter the matriarchal form. Obviously, all the members of all these groups and families were allied by the ties of kindred—either by affinity or consanguinity. In time it was usual for them to refer their origin to some remote ancestor, either male or female, and to call themselves after the name of that supposititious person. In this way there was developed the gens (kin), composed of bodies of consanguineal kindred, and this was the basis of social and governmental institutions among the Indians when the whites came to this country.¹ The gens reached its highest development among the Greeks and Romans. Its rise, progress and decay are traced clearly in Jewish history. Tacitus describes it among the ancient Germanic tribes. It undoubtedly had its influence in the organization of the village communities and hundreds among the Anglo-Saxons in England, and traces of it still survive among the native races of Ireland. But nowhere is the opportunity of studying this

¹ Morgan, *Systems of Affinity and Consanguinity*, as cited; *Ancient Society*; McLennan, *Primitive Marriage*; Herbert Spencer; J. W. Powell, *Proceedings American Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1880, 687; in *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington*, 1883, 194, and in the several *Annual Reports U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*.

ancient human institution presented to us so favorably as among the uncivilized tribes of our own land.

The Lenâpé of New Jersey were divided into three sub-tribes¹ or gentes, as follows :

I. The Minsi, Monseys, Muncees, Montheys, Munsees or Minisinks ("people of the stony country," or "mountaineers"), who were known as the Wolf Tribe, and occupied the country about the upper Delaware valley, in New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. "The Wolf is a rambler by nature," said they, "running from one place to another for his prey, yet they consider him their benefactor, as it was through him that the Indians got out from under the earth. Therefore the wolf is to be honored and his name preserved forever amongst them."² All accounts go to show that the Minsis were the most intractable of all the Lenape—the most ready to go to war, and the most averse to the missionaries.³

II. The Unami, or Wonameys ("people down the river"), who were known as the Tortoise Tribe, and were the neighbors of the Minsi, south of the Lehigh. As the Tortoise was regarded as the progenitor of mankind, and bore the earth on his back, the Tortoise Tribe always took the lead in governmental affairs,⁴ which in fact was the rule among all Algonkin tribes, and among many if not most others in North America.

III. The Unalachtigo, or Wunalachtiko ("people who live near the ocean"), who were known as the Turkey Tribe. "The Turtle is stationary, and always remains with them,"⁵ they said, probably indicating more sedentary habits on the

¹ Dr. Brinton insists that these divisions were neither gentes nor phratries, but simply sub-tribes.—*Lenâpé*, 40.

² Heckewelder, 52, 253.

³ The Minsis spoke a harsher dialect than the other gentes of the Lenâpé, resembling somewhat that of the Mohegans and the Wampanos.—*Ettwein*, 31. As to their attitude toward the missionaries, cf. Brainerd, Jones, Zeisberger (*Life, and Diary*), Loskiel and *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, passim.

⁴ Heckewelder, 97; *Essays of an Americanist*, 133.

⁵ Heckewelder, 253.

part of that gens than was true of the others. They occupied the southern part of New Jersey, Delaware and Northern Virginia.

Such is the classification given by the earlier writers. But Morgan says the Munseys were a distinct gens or tribe, divided into the same three gentes—the Wolf, the Tortoise and the Turkey, and with the same rules as to descent, intermarriage and the office of sachem. The Mohegans, who occupied that part of New York bordering on New Jersey, had the same gentes, and the same rules as to intermarriage, inheritance, descent and the election of sachem, showing that they, like the Munseys, were closely allied to the Delawares or Lenape.¹

In 1860 Morgan closely studied the organization of the Delawares, at their reservation in Kansas. He found that each gens was divided into twelve sub-gentes, each having some of the attributes of a gens, and these sub-gentes were designated by personal names, in nearly or quite every case those of females, apparently the eponymous ancestors from whom the members of the gentes respectively derived their descent. The sub-divisions were as follows:²

1. *Wolf. Took-seat.*

1. Mä-an-greet, Big Feet.
2. Wee-sow-het-ko, Yellow Tree.
3. Pă-sa-kun-a-mon, Pulling Corn.
4. We-yar-nih-kä-to, Care Enterer.
5. Toosh-war-ka-ma, Across the River.
6. O-lum-a-ne, Vermilion.
7. Pun-ar-you, Dog standing by Fireside.
8. Kwin-eek-cha, Long Body.
9. Moon-har-tar-ne, Digging.
10. Non-har-min, Pulling up Stream.
11. Long-ush-har-kar-to, Brush Log.
12. Maw-soo-toh, Bringing along.

2. *Turtle. Poke-koo-un-go.*

1. O-ka-ho-ki, Ruler.
2. Ta-ko-ong-o-to, High Bank Shore.

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 173.

² *Ib.*, 172.

3. *See-har-ong-o-to, Drawing down hill.
4. Ole-har-kar-me-kar-to, Elector.
5. Mä-har-o-luk-ti, Brave.
6. Toosh-ki-pa-kwis-i, Green Leaves.
7. Tung-ul-ung-si, Smallest Turtle.
8. Lee-kwin-a-i, Snapping Turtle.
9. We-lun-ung-si, Little Turtle.
10. Kwis-aese-kees-to, Deer.

The two remaining sub-gentes are extinct.

3. *Turkey. Pul-la-ook.*¹

1. Mo-har-ä-lä, Big Bird.
2. Le-le-wa-you, Bird's Cry.
3. Moo-kwung-wa-ho-ki, Eye Pain.
4. Moo-har-mo-wi-kar-nu, Scratch the Path.
5. O-ping-ho-ki, Opossum Ground.
6. Muh-ho-we-kä-ken, Old Shin.
7. Tong-o-nä-o-tò, Drift Log.
8. Nool-a-mar-lar-mo, Living in Water.
9. Muh-krent-har-ne, Root Digger.
10. Muh-karm-huk-se, Red Face.
11. Koo-wä-ho-ke, Pine Region.
12. Oo-chuk-ham, Ground Scratcher.

Bishop Ettwein gives the only detailed account we have of the manner of choosing the Chiefs of the various gentes:

"Each Tribe has a Chief. The Chief of the great Tortoise is the Head, but the Tortoise Tribe cannot make or chuse him; that is the Work of the Chiefs of the other Tribes, and so vice versa. None of the Chief's sons can follow him in his Dignity, because they are not of that Tribe, but the Son of his Sister, or his Daughter's Daughter's Son may follow him. The Candidate is commonly in the lifetime of a Chief appointed, to be learned and informed in the affairs of the Chief. The Election and Appointment is made in the following Manner: After the Death and

¹ According to Bishop Ettwein, writing in 1788, in Eastern Pennsylvania, the three tribes (gentes) were: 1. The great Tortoise, Pach-oango; 2. The Wolf, Ptuohsit; 3. The Turkey, Blaeu (Blœu, a turkey cock, according to Zeisberger). Pullaook (or Blaeu-ook, as Ettwein would give it) is the feminine.

Burial of a Chief, the 2 other Chiefs meet with their Councillors and People ; the new Chief being agreed upon they prepare the Speeches and necessary Belts. Then they march in Procession to the Town where the Candidate is, the two Chiefs, walking in front, sing the intended Speeches, and enter the Town singing ; they go on to the East Side into the Council House and round the several Fires prepared, then sit down on one side of them, upon which the Town's People come in, shake hands with them and place themselves over against them. One of the Chiefs sings a Speech, signifying the aim of their Meeting, condoles the new Chief about the Death of the old one, wiping off his Tears, ¹ &c., and then declares him to be Chief in the place of the Deceased. He gives the People present a serious admonition to be obedient unto their Chief and to assist him wherever they can with 2 Belts.² Thereupon he addresses also the Wife of the Chief and the Women present to be subject unto the Chief with a Belt.³ He then tells the Chief his Duties, and the new Chief promises to observe them. All is sung.

“The Head Chief with two others, has to take care of the National Concerns, to cherish the Friendship with other Nations. None can rule or command absolute, he has no Preference, nobody is forced to give him anything, but he is commonly well provided with Meat, and the Women assist his Wife in Planting, that he may get much corn, because he must be hospitable, and his House open to all. They are generally courteous and conversable. He has the Keeping of the Council Bag with the Belts, &c., and his House is commonly the Council House and therefore large.⁴

“The chief Duty of a Chief is to preserve Peace as long as possible ; he cannot make War, without the consent of the Captains, and also cannot receive a War Belt. If he finds his Captains and People will have War, he must yield

¹ A universal figure of speech among the Indians.

² That is, he emphasizes these points of his speech by presenting two belts of wampum.

³ See next-preceding note.

⁴ See also N. Y. Doc. Hist., III., 82.

to them, and the Captains get the Government. But as the Chief cannot make War, so the Captains cannot make Peace. If a Captain receives a Proposition for Peace, he refers it to his Chief, and says: *I am a Warrior, I cannot make Peace.* If a Captain brings such a Proposition to his Chief and he likes it, he bids him to sit down, and takes the Hatchet from him, and a Truce begins. Then the Chief says to the Captain; as thou art not used to sit still, to smoke only thy pipe, help me in that good Work, I will use thee as a Messenger of Peace among the Nations: and thus the Warriors are discharged.

"Captains are not chosen. A Dream or an enthusiastic Turn for War, with which an old conjuror joins, persuading the man that he would be a lucky Captain, is his call, upon which he acts. After he has been 6 or 7 times in War so lucky as to lose none of his Company, or got for each one lost, a Prisoner, he is declared Captain. If the contrary happens, he is broke. There are seldom many Captains, yet always some in each Tribe."¹

The Chief here spoken of was the *Sachem* of his tribe—a name derived from the root *ōki*, signifying above (in space,

¹ Ettwein, 34-36; Loskiel, 130-131, 142, 155. The system of government here described, and the method of choosing and installing a chief, is much the same as among the Iroquois, fully detailed by Morgan in his *League of the Iroquois*, and in *Ancient Society*; by Hale, in *Iroquois Book of Rites*, and by J. W. Powell in his admirable account of the Wyandottes, in *First Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology*, and in *Proceedings American Association for the Advancement of Science*, for 1880, 675-688. Among the Wyandottes each gens had a council of four women, who elected the chief from among the male members of their own gens. Earlier writers who had not penetrated the reserve with which the Indians conceal their public and private affairs, have declared that "the Algonkins knew nothing of regular government; they had no system of polity; there was no unity of action among them; the affairs even of a single tribe were managed in the loosest manner."—*De Schweinitz, Life of Zeisberger*, 39. "There is little authority known among these nations," says Wassenaer. "They live almost all free. In each village, indeed, is found a person who is somewhat above the others, and commands absolutely when there is war, when they are gathered from all the villages to go on the war path. After the fight his superiority ceases."—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, III., 29. "The Sackema possesses not much authority and little advantage unless in their dances and other ceremonies."—*Journal of New Netherlands*, 1641-7, in *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, IV., 4.

and hence in power).¹ Notwithstanding what has been said above regarding the election of a Sachem, it is clear that the office was in a sense hereditary. The descent was in the female line, in order to keep the rule within the gens. As the children belonged not to the gens of the father, but to that of the mother, the sons of a Sachem could not succeed him;² but his brother, or a son of his sister, was eligible to the succession,³ and in electing a new Sachem he was chosen from among them. This custom was probably a survival of a primitive matriarchal rule. The common chiefs were chosen for their personal merit—their bravery, wisdom or eloquence, and the office was non-hereditary.⁴ "When a person was elected sachem or chief his name was taken away, and a new one conferred at the time of his installation."⁵ A Sachem or chief could be deposed at any time by the council of the tribe;⁶ and his office was also vacated by his removal to another locality, as in the case of Mattano, Chief of the Nyack Indians, who in 1660 removed to Staten Island.⁷ The government of the tribe was a democracy; the Sachem or Chief who attempted to lead his people against their will must needs have a powerful mastery over his fellow men, or he fared ill.⁸ At the same time, the

¹ The Lenâpe and their Legends, 46. The Minsis used the word *k'htai*, the great one.—*Ib.*, 47, note. Mr. Anthony says the modern Delaware word is *wojauwe*, used instead of the older *sakima*. See Lenâpe-English Dictionary, 167. Zeisberger, in his dictionary (p. 36), gives the phrase, *Wojauwe n hakkey*, I am a Chief.

² Uncas, a famous Connecticut warrior and sachem, was the son and grandson of Sachems, and was succeeded by his son.—See "History of the Indians of Connecticut from the earliest known period to 1850," by John W. DeForest, Hartford, 1852, pp. 66-7; "An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the years 1675, 1676, 1677," etc., by Daniel Gookin, in Transactions American Antiquarian Society, II., 445. This is an exceptional case.

³ Morgan, Ancient Society, 173.

⁴ *Ib.*, 71.

⁵ *Ib.*, 79.

⁶ *Ib.*, 74.

⁷ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 147, 167.

⁸ For instances, see Penn. Col. Records, III., 97; N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 371.

earlier patriarchal or matriarchal influences were so strong that the free impulses of the savages were held much in check, and deference was paid even to an unpopular Chief. The Sachem was permitted to exercise a certain authority in the naming of his prospective successor, whom he chose from among the most eligible young men of the tribe, and instructed in the duties and responsibilities of the office.¹ If they proved unworthy, he would set them aside and choose another,² and perchance they would fall a victim to his vengeance if he suspected them of treachery to the tribe.³

There were occasional deviations from the rule, the selection of the Sachem failing of ratification by the tribe, as we shall see in the case of Oratamy, Sachem of the Hackensack Indians. Sometimes, either because of her descent, or for some special trait which marked her out, a woman was chosen to rule over the tribe as a Squaw-Sachem, and the verdict of history is that their sway was quite as wise and firm as that of the sterner sex.⁴ The position of woman among the Indians was far from unfavorable; she was secure in the possession of her property and of her children, and had a voice in the selection of Chiefs. This independence

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 361; Loskiel, 134.

² In the dying speech of Ockanichon, about 1681-2, at Burlington, N. J., he is reported to have said: "Whereas Sehoppo and Swanpis were appointed Kings by me in my stead, and I understanding by my Doctor, that Sehoppo secretly advised him not to cure me, * * * and I see that they were given more to Drink, than to take notice of my last words, * * * therefore I refused them to be Kings after me in my stead, and have chosen my Brother's son Iahkurosoe in their stead to succeed me."—*Budd's Good Order*, etc., 66; *Smith's N. J.*, 149.

³ In 1731, Sassoonan or Allumapees or Alommabi, King of the Delawares, stabbed and killed his nephew, Sam Shakatawlin, his presumptive successor, because he was suspected of favoring the whites too much.—*Penn. Col. Records*, III., 403-5; *Moravian Memorials*, I., 121, 127.

⁴ "In the New England Pocanoket, Mount-Hope, or King Philip's War, anno 1675, there is mentioned the squaa-sachem of Pocasset, and a squaa-sachem among the Naragansets."—*Douglass I.*, 160. Shampishuh, sister of Momaugin, the Chief of the Quinipiacs, was the sachem-squaw of Guilford, Conn. See De Forest's *Indians of Connecticut*, p. 52. In 1650, there was a Squaw Chief living at Catskill, N. Y. See N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 26.

was due largely to the gentile organization of the tribe ; a woman had the support of all the members, male and female, of her gens.¹

The Council of each tribe was composed of the Sachem and the other Chiefs, either experienced warriors, or aged and respected heads of families, elected by the tribe.² The executive functions of the government were performed by the Sachems and Chiefs, who were also members of the Council. The latter body was legislature and court combined, having a strict and most decorous procedure.³ Here matters pertaining to the welfare of the tribe were discussed, whether of peace or of war ; offences against good order in the tribe were considered, and the accused tried with deliberation and the utmost fairness. As already remarked, crimes committed against individuals were not regarded as sins, or torts against the tribe ; they were usually settled between the persons or families concerned, or in the gens, upon the principle of *lex talionis*.⁴ The evolution of the crude law of the gens and then of the tribe went on for centuries and perhaps for ages ere there arose upon its base the fair fabric of moral obligation, of ethical compulsion — of Right, as distinguished from Expediency.⁵ The rela-

¹ See report of address by Prof. Otis T. Mason, in *American Anthropologist*, July, 1888, pp. 295-6.

² Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 71 ; Loskiel, 130 ; 1 *Penn. Archives*, II., 214.

³ J. W. Powell, *Proceedings American Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1880, pp. 687-8 : Budd, *Good Order*, etc., 62 ; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII., 380 ; Zeisberger's *Diary*, II., 199, 214.

⁴ *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*, by Daniel Gookin, written in 1674 and published in 1792 in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, I., 149 ; Loskiel, 15-16 ; Kitchi-Gami, 269 ; Zeisberger's *Diary*, II., 525.

⁵ "A rigor di termini la morale comprende anche il diritto, come il tutto la parte ; ma nell' evoluzione dell' umana condotta, considerata sotto l' aspetto fisico, biologico, psicologico e sociologico, il diritto precedette la morale come manifestazione esteriore dei modi di giudicare essa condotta : modi concretati dapprima in vaghe consuetudini, poscia in norme fisse o leggi." See paper by Dr. Vincenzo Grossi on *Law and Morals in Ancient Mexico*, *Compte-Rendu Congrès International des Americanistes*, at Berlin, 1888, pp. 350, 372 ; and Sir Henry Sumner Maine, on *Ancient Law*, as cited.

tions with other tribes and confederations were talked over in the Council, and a course of action formulated. As the whites became more numerous, they in various ways undermined the authority of the Chiefs,¹ who were compelled to admit that they could not always restrain the impetuosity of their warriors, *wauwapijesjes*, or of their young men—the “barebacks ;”² but in theory the decision of the Council was absolutely binding upon every member of the tribe, and a breach of its mandates was punishable with death. Describing a Council which he attended, William Penn says : “Their order is thus : The King sits in the Middle of a half-moon, and hath his Council, the old and wise on each hand ; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger Fry in the same Figure ; having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me. * * During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile ; the Old Grave, the Young reverent in their deportment : They do speak little, but fervently and with elegance.”³

Their rhetorical figures were mostly suggested by natural objects, at times rising to flights of genuine eloquence. At a conference with the whites, in 1649, Pennekeck, the “Chief behind the Col,” that is, of the Hackensack Indians, said the tribe called the Raritanos, formerly living at Wiquaesskeck, had no Chief, therefore he spoke for them, in the Indian tongue. “I wish you could see my heart,” he exclaimed, as he threw down two beavers, “then you would be sure that my words are sincere and true.”⁴ At a conference held at Easton, in 1757, Teedyescung, Chief Sachem or King of the Delawares, said : “By this Belt of Wampum I take you by the hand and lead you up to our Council Fire, and desire you will not listen to the singing of Birds in the Woods,”⁵—that is, give no heed to the tales of enemies. In 1758 Governor Francis Bernard, of New Jersey, persuaded

¹ Kitchi-Gami, 270.

² N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 167, 172.

³ Quoted in Robert Blount's *Present State*, etc., as cited, 102-3, and in Proud's *Hist. Penna.*, I., 257.

⁴ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 25.

⁵ Penn. Archives, III., 216.

the Minisink Indians to come to Burlington for a conference, instead of to Easton as was their wont. The spokesman for the dusky statesmen told the Governor: "It is not agreeable to Our Chief Men and Counsellors to have a new Council fire kindled or the Old one removed to this side of the River from Pennsylvania, where it hath always been kept Burning. The Reason is this: we know the Strength of the Water, and that when the Wind and tide is strong it Roars that we cannot hear; so that it is proper we should have the Council fire on the other Side of the River nearer to us."¹ The Indians were fond of referring to the "covenant chain" between them and the whites. "Since a Chain is apt to rust, if it be not oiled or greased, we will grease it with Bevers grease or Fatt yt the smell thereof will endure for a whole year."² The Delawares having in 1725 become subordinate to the Five Nations, were not allowed to make war without the consent of the latter; wherefore they were called "women."³ When they won their independence, there was a curious ceremony, "the taking off of the petticoat," in 1756 ⁴ and again in 1795.⁵

Bishop Ettwein tells us that the "Chief of the Tortoise is the Head." He was commonly spoken of by the whites as the "King" of the Delawares. The earliest Chief who stands out pre-eminent above his fellows is Tamanend or Tamanee, whose name first appears in a deed dated the 23d day of the 4th month (June), 1683, for lands in Bucks county, Pennsylv-

¹ Penn. Col. Records, VIII., 158.

² N. Y. Col. Docs., V., 663.

³ Loskiel, 125-6; Heckewelder, 58-70; Gallatin, Transactions Am. Antiq. Soc., II., 47, 48, 78; 1 Penn. Archives, III., 216; Penn. Col. Records, III., 334; IV., 481, 579; VI., 37; VIII., 156; N. Y. Col. Docs., V., 623. The subject is exhaustively treated by Dr. Brinton, in his *Lenape and their Legends*, Chap. V.

⁴ N. Y. Col. Docs., VII., 119; *Memoirs Penn. Hist. Soc.*, I. (ed. 1864), 99. In 1758 the Delawares still acknowledged that they were a "woman nation," and could not act without the Senecas.—1 *Penn. Archives*, III., 505. The Minisinks were at the same time declared to be "women," who could not make treaties for themselves.—*Penn. Col. Records*, VIII., 156.

⁵ *Zeisberger's Diary*, II., 409.

vania.¹ In 1694 he was present with other Delaware Indians at a meeting of the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, when he said, as quaintly recorded in the official minutes: "Wee and the Christians of this river Have allwayes had a free rode way to one another, & tho' sometimes a tree has fallen across the rode yet wee have still removed it again, & kept the path clean, and wee design to Continou the old friendship that has been between us and you."² Three years later (July 5, 1697) he joins in a deed for a tract of land near Neshaminy, "Extending in Length from the River Delaware, so farr as a horse can Travel in Two Summer dayes." The instrument begins thus: "Know all Men That we Taminy Sachimack and Weheelano my Brother and Wehequeckhon alias Andrew, who is to be king after my death, Yaqueekhon alias Nicholas, and Quenameckquid alias Charles my Sonns," etc.³ Although these are the only actual glimpses we have of the man, tradition supplies all that would else be lacking, and declares that he "never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess. He was supposed to have had an intercourse with the great and good Spirit; for he was a stranger to everything that is bad."⁴ Countless legends have grown up about his name, and, in a spirit of drollery, he has been dubbed a Saint, in emulation of foreign heroes with less claim to a place in the calendar, and as "St. Tammany" is the first of his race to be thus honored.⁵ Having attained to a great age—

¹ Penn. Archives, I., 64. In the *Walam Olum* it is recorded:

Weminitis tamenend sakimanep nekohatami.

All being friendly, the Affable was chief, the first of that name.

It is impossible to conjecture with any approximation to accuracy when this first Tamanend became the Sachem of the Lenâpe. The Chief of the same name in William Penn's time was the third of the name. See the Lenâpe and their Legends, 196-7, 229. Heckewelder says the name means "affable."

² Penn. Col. Records, I., 447.

³ Penn. Archives, 124.

⁴ Heckewelder, 300.

⁵ See "The History of Tammany Society," in Valentine's Manual for 1865, pp. 849 et seqq.

he was spoken of as "the Tamanend of many days"—he is believed to have found a final resting place at or near Doylestown, Bucks county, Penn.¹

In 1716, Sheekokonickan was the Chief of the Nation, and is the second mentioned as such in the early records.² It does not appear when, where or how he died, but in 1718 the honor was borne by one whose name is variously written Allomabi, Allummapees, Alomipas, Olomipas, Olumpies, who was also called Sassoonan, "one who is well wrapped up." He was even then an old man, and sickly, and probably wore extra clothing on that account. In 1731, as already stated, he stabbed and killed his nephew, in a drunken brawl. His grief and remorse were so great that he refused to eat for a time, and his life was in danger.³ For many years he represented his people in their conferences with the English, by whom he was held in high esteem. His death, in 1747, seems to have made quite a stir not only among the Delawares, but among the Six Nations and the whites as well.⁴

Teedyescung or Tadeuskund was born near Trenton about the year 1700, one of a family of spirited sons. About 1730 they located at the forks of the Delaware, going further west until they joined their kinsmen, the Munseys. Coming under the Christian influence of the Moravian Brethren, he was baptized in 1750. But in 1754 the Munseys came down and urged him to become their King and lead them to war. After the defeat of Braddock, amid the general uprising of the savages, Teedyescung was swept into the war by an irresistible impulse of race pride, patriotism and ambition, and during 1755 and 1756, as King of the Delawares and

¹ Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time, etc., by John F. Watson, Philadelphia, 1870, II., 172; History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, by W. W. H. Davis, Doylestown, 1876, pp. 63, 73; Magazine of American History, XXIX., 255.

² Penn. Col. Records, II., 613. Is this name derived from *Schiku*, orphan, and *Ockonickan*, the name of the Indian King who died about 1681-2 at Burlington?

³ Penn. Col. Records, III., 404-5.

⁴ Penn. Col. Records, III., 318-321, 334, 404; IV., 53-4, 443-6, 742; V., 212, 222, 533; 1 Penn. Archives, I., 224, 266, 772; Moravian Memorials, 121, 127.

Munseys, led his dusky warriors in many a destructive foray upon the white settlements. In July, 1756, he attended a Council at Easton, with the Governor of Pennsylvania. At this time he declared that he represented not only the Delawares, as their King, but the Six Nations and three others, making ten in all. This was explicitly contradicted, however, by the Six Nations, at Easton, in 1758. In February, 1758, he attended a conference held "in the Great Meeting House at Crosswicks, N. J., between the Government of New Jersey, and the Indians inhabiting within the same," when the Cranbury, Crosswicks, Ancocus, Raritan, "Southern" and "Mountain" Indians presented their claims for lands then occupied by the whites.¹ He was a brave warrior and a sagacious counsellor, impatient of control, yet a subject of the Indian's worst enemy—the "fire water" of the whites, and died a miserable death, being burned in his lodge, April 19, 1763.² There were those who believed his wigwam was purposely set on fire by the Iroquois, who hated him for his influence with the English, and who also feared he might restore the *Lendæpe* to their pristine dignity and power. It was a curious coincidence that he had been baptized Gideon, and that as he went to and fro with his retinue of warriors he was often styled the "War trumpet."³ He was the last of the Delaware Kings east of the Allegheny mountains.

An amusing but very important feature of the conferences with the Indians was the exchange of presents. The wily savages saw no sense in giving valuable skins of beaver, otter or deer without receiving a corresponding return. If their presents were not reciprocated they quietly picked them up and carried them off—whence the expressive phrase, "Indian giver." The authorities soon learned the full significance of the custom. When an Indian ambassador from his tribe presented a bundle of furs in token of his good faith, he naturally expected the whites to give a like token

¹ 1 Penn. Archives, III., 341-6.

² Penn. Col. Records, VII., 199, 204-20; VIII., 96, 190-195; Moravian Memorials, 217-226, 359-364.

³ Heckewelder, 302-305; Loskiel, II., 124, 182.

of their sincerity. So it came to be a regular practice at such conferences for the Governor to cause the value of the Indians' gift to be carefully computed, and then to make them a present of like or greater worth.¹

When the Delawares went to war, they were painted hideously, to strike the utmost terror into their enemies.² How then could they distinguish friend from foe, when thus disguised? By their totems. "The totem is a symbolic device, generally an animal, which represents that all those having it have descended from one common ancestor. It has developed into the heraldic device of the family."³ The practice seems to have been universal among North American tribes,⁴ if indeed it was not prevalent throughout the world. When an Indian built a hut he painted on the outside in a conspicuous place a rude figure of his totem, and any passing Indian of the same tribe (and hence of the same totem) was privileged to claim aid as of a brother. Their bodies were painted or tattooed with the same symbol, and so were their war-clubs.⁵ Among the Delawares, "the Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animal carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be a picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward."⁶

¹ Acrelius, 53, 103; Penn. Col. Records, II., 555, 559; N. Y. Col. Docs., XII., 524; ² Penn. Archives, VII., 769. Many other instances could be cited.

² Loskiel, 147.

³ Dorman, 237. "In the Ojibwa dialect the word *totem*, quite as often pronounced *dodaim*, signifies the symbol or device of a gens; thus the figure of a wolf was the totem of the Wolf gens."—*Morgan, Ancient Society*, 165. And see Brinton, *American Hero Myths*, 40; Abbott's *Primitive Industry*, 72, 384.

⁴ Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 231; Second Annual Report U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, 166.

⁵ Heckewelder, 54.

⁶ *Ib.*, 253.

The three principal tribes of the *Lendæpe* inhabiting New Jersey were subdivided into very many smaller tribes or clans, who generally settled along the rivers and bays, and were usually called by the whites after the streams on which they were located, instead of by any proper tribal or family designation. Hence the names which have come down to us are descriptive of localities rather than of tribes. Some of these sub-tribes mentioned by early writers and in the old records are as follows :

Kechemeches, 500 men, above Cape May.

Manteses, 100 bowmen, twelve leagues above the former. (Doubtless the Mantas or Mantes, on Salem creek.)

Sikonesses, six leagues higher up.

Asomoches, 100 men.

Eriwoneck, 40 men.

Ramcock, 100 men, five miles above the last. (Probably living on Rancocas creek.)

Axion, 200 men, four miles higher up. (Probably Assiscunk creek.)

Calcefar, 150 men, "tenne leagues over land."

Mosilian, 200 men, below the Falls.¹

Raritans, Raritanoos, Raritangs, 1200 men, with two sachems.² This tribe formerly lived at Wiquaesskeck (near Dobbs's Ferry, Westchester county, N. Y.)³ but we have no account of why or when they removed to the fertile valleys of Central New Jersey. They were a warlike people, difficult to placate. In 1634 the Dutch made a treaty of peace with them, but hostilities broke out at intervals, and in 1640 the savages attacked a sloop sent up their river with supplies, and tried to kill the crew and capture the vessel and cargo.⁴ Foiled in this attempt, they made a raid on Staten Island, killing four tobacco planters and firing the buildings.

¹ Letter of Master Robert Evelin, who was in New Jersey about 1635, quoted in Smith's N. J., 29. For notices of the Mantas, see N. Y. Col. Docs, XII., 346, 414, 462; and De Vries, as cited, 253.

² A Description of the Province of New Albion, etc., 1648, by Beauchamp Plantagenet, quoted in Smith's N. J., 30. This little pamphlet, on account of its extravagant statements, is not worthy of implicit credence.

³ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 25.

⁴ Ib., 7.

The exasperated Dutch authorities at New Amsterdam thereupon passed an ordinance (in 1641), offering the other Indians ten fathoms of wampum for every Raritan's head, and twenty fathoms for the head of each of those who had killed the Staten Island planters.¹ Perhaps another reason for this barbarous act of reprisal was the greed of the whites for the fertile fields and meadows of the Indians, a writer in 1650 declaring that "the Raritanys had the handsomest and pleasantest country that man can behold ; it furnished the Indians with abundance of maize, beans, pumpkins and other fruits."² Harrassed by the Manhattans and the Dutch, and tempted by the offers of would-be purchasers, the thrifty savages seem to have sold their fair domain in 1650 and again in 1652, to two different parties.³

Neighbor to the Raritans were the *Newesings*, also called Na-ussins, Newasons, Neversinks or Navesinks, who were said to own the land from Barnegat to the Raritan. ⁴ In 1650 they were but few in number ; their Sachem then was Ouz-zeech.⁵ In 1660 the Dutch demanded the surrender of some Indians accused of murdering the whites, and who had taken refuge with the Raritans and *Newesings*, but the Sachems replied that "they could not seize and surrender the delinquents, without placing themselves in danger of being massacred by their relations,"⁶ which was regarded by the Dutch authorities as merely an evasion, but was nevertheless the truth, punishment for murder not being an affair of the tribe, but only of the family or gens, as already shown. The English and the Dutch eagerly sought to buy the lands of the *Newesings* in 1663, and in December of that year the latter succeeded in persuading the Indians to sell only to the Director-General and Council of New Netherland. This agreement was made by the "chiefs Matanoo, Barrenach, Mechat, brother to and deputed by

¹ Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 28.

² N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV. 22.

³ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 28-34.

⁴ *Ib.*, 311.

⁵ Wolley, 54.

⁶ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 163, 190.

Pajpemoor, empowered by Pasachynom, Menarhohondoo, Sycakeska and the aforesaid Pojpemoor, all chiefs and owners of the lands in the Newsingsh;” also Piewecherenoes alias Hans. To this important document Matano, Mechat, “Pieweherenoes, alias Hans the savage,” and Barrenach affixed their marks, that of the last-named being a very fair outline of a tortoise, indicating that the chief belonged to the Unami tribe.¹ There were still a few of the Newsings in their old hunting grounds in 1670.²

Naraticons, occupying the southern part of New Jersey.

Sanhicans, inhabiting the country about Trenton. Dr. Brinton says the name is a contraction of *assan-hican*, a stone implement, referring to the manufacture of such articles so extensively carried on in that neighborhood.³

Hackensacks.—The Raritan country extended northerly to Weequahick (Bound or Dividing) Creek, the dividing line between Newark and Elizabeth. The country north of this creek, and from First Mountain to the Hudson river, was occupied by the Hackensack Indians, who were principally settled along the river of that name. Being in such close proximity to New Amsterdam, they naturally came much in contact with the whites, and we find numerous references to them in the early records. They appear to have been peaceable, for the most part, and were frequently intercessors for the warlike Raritans on the south, and the Esopus, Tappan and other Indians on the north. The first conveyance on record by the Hackensack Indians was made in 1630, for “Hobocan Hacking,” the grantors being Arro-meauw, Tekwappo and Sackwomeck. The site of Jersey City (Ahasimus and Aressick) was sold about the same time by Ackitoauw and Aiarouw, for themselves and the other proprietors, Winym, Matskath and Camoins.⁴ These conveyances were doubtless made by some villagers living on these tracts, as it does not appear that the deeds were authorized by the tribe. The Hackensack Indians seem to have

¹ *Ib.*, 314-316.

² Denton, 15.

³ Lenape and their Legends, 44; De Vries, 253; Acrelius, 57.

⁴ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 1, 2.

been quiet and comparatively industrious. They raised large quantities of provisions, probably manufactured wampum, had their principal seat in the neighborhood of the present village of Hackensack, and an important settlement at Gamoenipa (Communipaw), whence they were ready to trade with the Dutch, or to make war upon Manhattan, whichever the inhabitants of that island preferred. It is not unlikely that they were in the habit of holding their weird "Kinte-Kaey" at Yantacaw, or Third River. (Where the Dutch first saw this Indian dance, up among the Highlands, the place is still known as the *Dans Kammer*, or dancing hall. Rip Van Winkle was mistaken when he imagined he saw there the ghosts of Captain Kid's pirates; they were the spirits of departed Indians, revisiting the "pale glimpses of the moon," to indulge once more in their mystic "Kinte-Kaey.") Undoubtedly the Hackensacks taught the first settlers many things about fishing, hunting, the cultivation of maize and its subsequent utilization in the favorite form of suppaen, which soon became familiar to every Dutch youngster in the land. We may well believe, too, that the thrifty Dutch vrouws learned many a new thing in domestic economy from the squaws, experienced in housewifery peculiar to the New World. The farmers who yearly burn the grass off the Hackensack meadows learned that practice and its benefits from the "Wilden." The cupidity of the early settlers led them to sell liquor to the Indians and countless evils ensued. One day in 1643, over at Pavonia, an Indian who had become intoxicated through the Dutch plying him with liquor, was asked if he could make good use of his bow and arrow in that state? For answer he aimed at a Dutchman thatching a house and shot him dead. An Englishman had been killed a few days before by some of the Indians of the Achter Col village. The whites were exasperated and demanded the surrender of the murderers, which, of course, was refused, being contrary to the Indian custom. Some of the whites trespassed on the Indians' cornfields, and when resisted shot three of the savages dead. A war seemed imminent, and in alarm many of the Indians fled for protection to the neighborhood of the Fort on Manhattan Island. The

Dutch took advantage of this opportunity, and on the night of February 25, 1643, one party slaughtered their unsuspecting guests on the Island, while another party went over to Pavonia and attacked the Indian village there, when the women and children were asleep.¹ The ferocity displayed by the whites was never exceeded by the savages. Says a contemporary chronicler: "Young children, some of them snatched from their mothers, were cut in pieces before the eyes of their parents, and the pieces were thrown into the fire or into the water; other babes were bound on planks and then cut through, stabbed and miserably massacred, so that it would break a heart of stone; some were thrown into the river, and when the fathers and mothers sought to save them, the soldiers would not suffer them to come ashore but caused both old and young to be drowned. Some children of from 5 to 6 years of age, as also some old infirm persons, who had managed to hide themselves in the bushes and reeds, came out in the morning to beg for a piece of bread and for permission to warm themselves, but were all murdered in cold blood and thrown into the fire or water."² As the total result of the night's butchery, about eighty Indians were killed and thirty made prisoners.³ Eleven tribes arose to avenge this cruel slaughter, but were no match for the well-armed whites, and a thousand Indians were slain.⁴ Peace was concluded April 22, 1643, "Oratamin, Sachem of the savages living at Achkinhes hacky, who declared himself commissioned by the savages of Tappaen, Rechgawawanc, Richtawanc [Sleepy Hollow] and Sintsinck," answering for the Indians.⁵ The ink was scarcely dry on this paper before Pachem, "a crafty man" of the Hackensacks, was running through all the villages, urging the Indians to a general massacre.⁶ More trouble

¹ N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV., 6-7; N. Y. Col. Docs., I., 150-151; XIII., 10.

² Breeden-Raedt, printed at Antwerp in 1649; reprinted in N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV., 65 et seqq.

³ N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV., 7.

⁴ N. Y. Col. Docs., I., 151.

⁵ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 14.

⁶ N. Y. Doc. Hist., IV., 8.

followed, but in 1645 another treaty was made between the whites and the savages, Oratamy, chief of Achkinkehacky, making his mark thereto. Pacham and Pennekeck joined in its execution. In 1649 a number of leading Indians made further propositions for a lasting peace, the principal speaker being Pennekeck, "the Chief behind the Col," in the neighborhood of Communipaw—probably a considerable village of the Hackensacks. The Chief Oratamin was present but said nothing. However, his superiority was recognized by the gift of some tobacco and a gun, while the "common savages" received only "a small present worth about twenty guilders."¹ During the ten years, 1645-55, there were occasional encounters between Indians and whites, ten or fourteen of the latter being killed in that period in the vicinity of New Amsterdam. The whites were continually encroaching on the natives, and in the neighborhood of Pavonia a considerable settlement of Dutch had grown up. The Indians became restive as they saw their lands slipping away from them, and finally seem to have planned the extirpation of the invaders. Very early on the morning of September 15, 1655, sixty-four canoes, filled with five hundred armed savages, landed on Manhattan island, and the warriors speedily scattered through the village. Many altercations occurred between them and the Dutch during the day. Toward evening they were joined by two hundred more savages. Three Dutchmen and as many Indians were killed. The savages then crossed over to Pavonia and to Staten Island, and in the course of three days destroyed buildings and cattle, killed about fifty whites and carried off eighty men, women and children into captivity. In this outbreak the Indians of Hackensack and Ahasimus were conspicuous actors. It was the last expiring effort of the natives near New York to check the resistless advance of the *Swannekins*, as they called the Dutch.² However, for a time the Indians believed they had the advantage, and proceeded to profit by it with great shrewdness. They brought some of

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 25.

² A Brief and True Narrative of the Hostile Conduct of the Barbarous Natives towards the Dutch Nation, translated by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, Albany, 1863; N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 49, 55.

their prisoners to Pavonia, and treated with the whites for their ransom, demanding cloth, powder, lead, wampum, knives, hatchets, pipes and other supplies. Pennekeek, chief of the Indians of Achkinkeshaky, finally sent fourteen of his prisoners over to the Dutch authorities, and asked for powder and lead in return; he got what he wanted, and two Indian prisoners besides. The negotiations continued, until Pennekeek had secured an ample supply of ammunition, and the Dutch had received most of their people back again. To the credit of the savages it should be said that no complaint was made of the treatment of their captives, and they kept all their promises.¹ The authorities of New Netherland were greatly disturbed by this brief but destructive war, and as a precaution against the recurrence of such an event advised the erection of a block-house of logs, in sight of the Indians, near Achkinheshaky.² Affairs seem to have gone smoothly between the Dutch and the Hackensacks thereafter.

On March 6, 1660, the treaty of peace was renewed with the Indians on the west side of the Hudson, Oratamy, chief of the Hackinkasacky, taking part in the negotiations. He was also present May 18, 1660, when peace was concluded with the Wappings, and a few weeks later interceded for the Esopus Indians, and had the satisfaction of attending at the conclusion of a peace with them, on which occasion he was accompanied by Carstangh, another Hackensack chief.³ Naturally enough, the Esopus Indians looked upon him as their friend, and when, a year later, some of their people who had been sent to Curacao, had now been recalled, they asked that they "might be delivered at their arrival to Oratam."⁴ On March 30, 1662, Oratam, chief of Hackinghesaky, complained to the Dutch authorities of the illicit sale of brandy to the savages in their country, and thereupon he and Metano were empowered to seize the brandy so offered for sale, and the traders having it.⁵ On June 27,

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 45-48.

² *Ib.*, 53.

³ *Ib.*, 148, 167, 171, 180.

⁴ *Ib.*, 202.

⁵ *Ib.*, 218.

1663, these two chiefs were called to a conference with the whites, who were then at war with the Esopus Indians, and agreed to keep the peace, but declined to accede to some dishonorable proposals made by the authorities. "Oratam said, he was very glad, that we would keep quiet here and that the war would only be made at the Esopus; he had not a single spark in his heart, that was bad."¹ All the accounts we have of him go to prove the truth of this simple declaration. Two weeks later, the chiefs of several tribes north of the Hackensacks came to New Amsterdam, at the summons of Oratam, who was again accompanied by Karstangh. The new comers ratified all that had been said and done by the aged chief of the Hackensacks, thereby manifesting the respect and confidence in which he was held by his neighbors.² The whites were still crowding the Indians, but in view of former experiences the authorities preferred to acquire the land of the Indians peaceably, if possible, and so urged the Hackensacks to sell the hook of land behind the Kil van Kol. Oratam gave the politic reply that "most of the young men of the tribe were out hunting, so that he had not been able to speak with them, but he had talked with the old warriors, who said that they would not like to sell, preferring to keep a portion of it to plant, for they dared not go further inland for fear of being robbed by their enemies." "He said further, that there was land enough both for the Dutch and the Indians, divided by the Kil, and that it was as good as the land on the Esopus."³ The reference is probably to the land west of the Passaic river, for which some New England people had been negotiating since 1661, with a view to settling on the site of the present city of Newark.⁴ In his office of peacemaker, Oratamy again appeared at Fort Amsterdam the following month (August 15, 1663), with three Minisink chiefs, who protested their wish to live quietly.⁵ In November of the

¹ *Ib.*, 262.

² *Ib.*, 276.

³ *Ib.*, 280.

⁴ *Ib.*, 281.

⁵ *Ib.*, 290.

same year he asked for peace with the Wappings and the Esopus savages, with whom the whites were at war.¹ The treaty was delayed, however, by the failure of the Esopus Indians, on one pretext or another, to release their Christian captives. With Kastangh, Hans and others, he was again at Fort Amsterdam on February 23, 1664, in relation to the peace with the Esopus Indians. "He presents an otterskin as a sign that his heart is good, but he does not know yet, how the heart of our [the Dutch] Sachems is." He evidently felt the burden of his great age, for "he gives another otterskin and says *Hans* shall be sachem after him over the Hackingesack and Staten Island savages. If after his, Oratamy's death, we had anything to say to the savages, we should send for Hans, as we now send for Oratam. He asks for a small piece of ordnance, to be used in his castle against his enemies."² His "castle" was doubtless a palisaded hut, on the banks of the Hackensack river. The long-wished-for peace with the Esopus Indians was at length concluded, May 16, 1664, and Oratamy, chief of Hackingesack and Tappaen, and Matteno, chief of the Staten Island and Nayack savages, became securities for the peace, and pledged themselves and their men to go to war with either party who should violate it.³

When the English conquered New Netherland, in 1664, they were careful to cultivate the friendship of the Hackensack chief, and Gov. Philip Carteret wrote two letters in 1666 to Oraton, as he called him, in relation to the proposed purchase of the site of Newark.⁴ The Hackensack chief was very old at this time, and unable to travel from Hackensack to Newark, to attend the conference between the whites and the natives.⁵ And so fades from our view this striking figure in the Indian history of New Jersey. Pru-

¹ *Ib.*, 305, 314, 320-323.

² *Ib.*, 361.

³ *Ib.*, 377, 386. The Nayack Indians referred to were on Long Island, opposite Staten Island.

⁴ N. J. Archives, I., 55-56.

⁵ Affidavit of Col. Robert Treat, in Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery, New York, 1747, p. 118.

dent and sagacious in counsel, he was prompt, energetic and decisive in war, as the Dutch found to their cost when they recklessly provoked him to vengeance. The few glimpses we are afforded of this Indian Chieftain clearly show him to have been a notable man among men in his day, and that he was recognized as such not only by the aborigines of New Jersey, but by the Dutch rulers with whom he came in contact. The name of such a man is surely worthy of commemoration, even two centuries after his spirit has joined his kindred in the happy hunting grounds of his race.

The Indian deed for Newark, July 11, 1667, is from "*Wapamuck*, the Sakamaker, and Wamesane, Peter Cap-tamin, Wecaprokikan, Napeam, Perawae, Sessom, Mamus-tome, Cacanakque, and Hairish, Indians belonging now to Hakinsack,"¹ from which it is to be inferred that Oratamin had died during the year,² and had been succeeded by Wapamuck, instead of by Hans, as he had anticipated.

Among the witnesses to this instrument was *Pierwim*, "ye Sachem of Pau," or Pavonia—probably one of the common chiefs, the head of a family at or near the latter place. In August, 1669, *Pereuwyn*—doubtless the same person—is mentioned as having been "lately chosen Sachem of ye Hackingsack, Tappan and Staten Island Indians," and called on the Governor at New York "to renew & acknowledge ye peace between them & ye Xtians" there.³

When the Dutch reconquered New Netherland, in 1673, "the Sachems and Chiefs of the Hackensack Indians with about twenty savages" came forward and asked "that they might continue to live in peace with the Dutch, as they had

¹ East Jersey Records, in the office of the Secretary of State, at Trenton, Liber No. 1, fol. 69. The deed is printed in Records of the Town of Newark, New Jersey, Newark, 1864, 278-80.

² In that excellent work, History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River, by E. M. Rittenber, Albany, 1872, the author says Oritany "is spoken of in 1687, as very aged, and as delegating his authority in a measure to Perro." This statement is evidently based on a careless reading of Col. Robert Treat's affidavit, cited above, wherein the deponent says that in 1666 Oritany was very old.

³ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 428.

done in former times," to which the authorities cordially agreed, and presents were exchanged in confirmation of the treaty.¹

An Indian named Knatsciosan wounded a Dutchman at Bergen, April 11, 1678; Governor Carteret and his Council met there April 24, with the Sakamakers of the Hackensacks: Manoky, Mandenark, Hamahem, Tanteguas and Capeteham, and the assault was settled on a pecuniary basis.² This last named chief was one of the witnesses to the deed for Newark, in 1667. He joined in a deed for land near Lodi in 1671.³ It was from this same Sachem that the first purchases of lands within the present county of Passaic were made, in 1678, and in 1679. In the former deed he is described as Captehan Peeters,⁴ Indian Sachem; in the latter as Captahem, "Indian Sachem and Chief."⁵ In a deed for land in 1678, Manschy, Mendawack, Hanrapen, Tanteguas and Capeteham (a variant for Capteham) are mentioned as "Sackamakers of Hackensack,"⁶ and are the last of whom record has been found.

The Saddle River tract, from Lodi north to Big Rock, in Bergen county, which was doubtless part of the territory of the Hackensacks, was sold April 9, 1679, by Arrorickan, claiming to be the Sachem of the tract, and who was joined in the conveyance by Mogquack and Woggermahameck.⁷

With the increase of the white settlements the Indians were crowded back into the interior—among the mountains of Northern New Jersey, into the Minisink country, and gradually beyond the Alleghanies. In 1679 there was but a single Indian family in the whole territory embraced within the limits of Passaic, Clifton and Paterson south of the Pas-

¹ *Ib.*, 476; N. J. Archives, I., 131-2.

² East Jersey Records, Liber 3, fol. 144.

³ Liber B of East Jersey Deeds, in Secretary of State's office, Trenton, fol. 79.

⁴ Liber A of Deeds, in Secretary of State's office, Trenton, fol. 242.

⁵ Liber No. 1 of East Jersey Deeds, in Secretary of State's office, Trenton, fol. 128.

⁶ Liber No. 3 of East Jersey Deeds, fol. 143.

⁷ Liber No. 1 of E. J. Deeds, fol. 129.

saic river.¹ In 1688 a prominent resident of the present Hudson county declared that he had seen no Indians in a long time.² True, in 1693 the Hackensack and Tappan Indians were said to be threatening an attack on the whites,³ but they were then far removed from their former hunting grounds.

In 1710 Memerescum claimed to be the "sole Sachem of all the nations of Indians on Remopuck River and on the west and East branches thereof on Saddle River Pasqueck River Narashunk River Hackinsack River and Tapaan," and joined with Waparent, Sipham, Rawan'agues, Maskainapulig, Taphome and Ayamanngh (a squaw) in conveying the upper or northwestern parts of the present Bergen and Passaic counties.⁴

Wappings, Pomptons, Pequannocks.—North of the Hackensacks were the Tappans, and then the Esopus Indians. The Wappingers occupied the east side of the Hudson river and the northern shores of Long Island Sound.⁵ They were frequently at war with the whites, especially the Dutch. Oratamy was repeatedly called on to intercede for them with the authorities at Fort Amsterdam.⁶ It is probable that in time they were driven west, and occupied the country about Pompton, for at the treaty of Easton, in 1758, the "Wapings, Opings or Pomptons" are mentioned.⁷ The name is evidently derived from the root *wab*, east, and indicates their eastern origin. The Indian names affixed to every mountain, hill and stream, and to every striking feature in the landscape for miles about Paterson indicate that the country had been peopled by the aborigines for centuries. If the Wappings or Opings who were apparently identified with the Pomptons in 1758 were the remnants of the warlike Wappingers of a century earlier, they were doubtless welcomed by the Pompton Indians when driven

¹ Dankers and Sluyter, as cited, 269.

² Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery, 117.

³ Calendar N. Y. Hist. MSS., II., 233.

⁴ East Jersey Deeds, Book I, f. 317.

⁵ Rutenber, 83-84.

⁶ N. Y. Col. Docs., XIII., 46, 167, 180, 364, 375.

⁷ Smith's N. J., 479.

west of the Hudson. We have no account of the Sachems of the Pomptons in the seventeenth century. The earliest mention of them is in a deed in 1695 for lands at Pompton, conveyed by Tapgan, Oragnap, Mansiem, Wickwam Rookham, Paakek Siekaak (or Paakch Sehaak), Waweiagin, Onageponk, Neskilant (Mek:quam or Neskeglat), Peykqueneck and Ponton—that is, Pequannock and Pompton Indians—and Iaiapogh, Sachem of Minissing.¹ This instrument indicates that the Pequannock and Pompton Indians recognized the supremacy of the Minsi tribe, to which they and all the other sub-tribes of Northern New Jersey belonged.

“ The doomed Indian leaves behind no trace,
To save his own or serve another race.
With his frail breath his power has passed away,
His deeds, his thoughts, are buried with his clay.
His heraldry is but a broken bow,
His history but a tale of wrong and woe,
His very name must be a blank.”²

Since mention has been made of Indian deeds for land, it may be well to say something of the practice in New Jersey in extinguishing the Indian title to the soil. When the Swedes settled in West Jersey in 1638 “a purchase of land was immediately made from the Indians,” a deed was drawn up and signed by the grantors and “was sent home to Sweden to be preserved in the royal archives.” That the Dutch recognized the Indian title is evidenced also by an ordinance of the Director General and Council of New Netherlands, passed July 1, 1652, wherein it was set out that many of the inhabitants, “covetous and greedy of land,” had bought directly from the Indians, whereby the price had been raised “far above the rate at which the Director General and Council could heretofore obtain them from the natives ; yea—(and here, we fear, is the real gravamen of the offence aimed at) yea, some malicious and evil disposed persons have not scrupled to inform and acquaint the Indians what sum and price the Dutch or whites are giving each other for small lots!” The implied keenness

¹ East Jersey Deeds, Liber E, f. 306.

² Charles Sprague.

of the Indians in taking advantage of the current rates for land corroborates the declaration of the early traveler already quoted, "that there were no fools or lunatics among them." In 1664 King Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York, afterwards King James II., the territory embracing New Jersey, with full powers of government, but the grant apparently implies that only the subjects of the King and adventurers seeking the new country were included under this authority, and not the aborigines. As evidence of what the understanding really was we may refer to the purchases made from the Indians of the site of Elizabethtown in 1664; of the site of Newark in 1666-7; New Barbadoes Neck in 1668; lands on the Raritan in 1669, and many other like instances. In 1674, Sir George Carteret, then owner of East Jersey, pledged himself to purchase the land from the Indians for the settlers from time to time, as required. It was not until 1676 that William Penn became interested in New Jersey, his first real estate venture on this side of the Atlantic, and it was six years later ere he set foot in America. He then found the practice of acquiring title in the first place from the Indians an old-established custom in this part of the new world. The subsequent Proprietors of New Jersey from time to time urged upon their agents here the importance of securing the Indians' title to the whole province, and in 1682 the Legislature passed an act "to regulate treaties with the Indians," providing that no person should buy lands from the Indians without a written authorization under the seal of the Province; the grant was to be to the Proprietors, who promised to reimburse the purchaser, and the deed was to be duly registered.¹ In practice, however, the Indian deeds appear to have been always to the buyer, who on presentation thereof to the Proprietors could then purchase the title of the latter to the land. The actual title to the soil, however, was derived from the English sovereign, who claimed it by right of discovery and conquest. The Indian title was a legal nullity, being merely that of occupancy, and was not to the fee.²

¹ Leaming and Spicer, 182, 196.

² "The title acquired by the grant from the Indians [for the site of Newark] was a nullity. As a conveyance of lands it was null and void.

Among the Indians themselves, there was no ownership in severalty. The land occupied by a tribe was owned by the tribe in common, although the cultivation of maize and plants tended to introduce individual proprietorship in cultivated land.¹ Each nation had its own particular boundaries, subdivided between each tribe.² These boundaries were generally marked by mountains, lakes, rivers and brooks, and encroachments by neighboring tribes were strictly resented, whether on their lands or on their fishing or hunting rights.³ At the same time, there were common highways—Indian paths—through the territory of the several tribes and sub-tribes, and which in later years were widened into the public roads of the

By the law of nations, established by the consensus of all civilized nations, and by the common l.w., title to the soil is obtained by discovery or conquest. By the English common law the title to lands in this State was vested in the English Crown; and it is a fundamental principle in English colonial jurisprudence that all titles to lands within this colony passed to individuals from the Crown, through the colonial or proprietary authorities." See charge of the Hon. David A. Depue, of the New Jersey Supreme Court, in the case of *The Mayor and Common Council of the city of Newark vs. George Watson et al.*, in the N. J. Supreme Court, Essex Circuit, May term, 1892, p. 258 of printed case. In the case of *Martin et als. vs. Waddell*, in the Supreme Court of the United States, the validity of the Indian title to the soil of New Jersey was also in question, and Chief Justice Taney held (January Term, 1842): "The English possessions in America were not claimed by right of conquest, but by right of discovery. According to the principles of international law, as then understood by the civilized powers of Europe, the Indian tribes in the new world were regarded as mere temporary occupants of the soil; and the absolute rights of property and dominion were held to belong to the European nations by which any portion of the country was first discovered."—16 *Peters, U. S. Reports*, 367. The first case raising this question in the Supreme Court of the United States was that of *Fletcher vs. Peck*, February, 1810, when Chief Justice Marshall said: "The majority of the court is of opinion that the nature of the Indian title, which is certainly to be respected by all courts, until it be legitimately extinguished, is not such as to be absolutely repugnant to seisin in fee on the part of the State."—6 *Cranch*, 142-3. See also *Vattel's Law of Nations*, Chap. 18.

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 530.

² Guy Johnson to Dr. William Robertson in 1775, in *Magazine American History*, XXVIII., 376.

³ Heckewelder, 30, 129; 1 Penn. Archives, III., 344; Loskiel, 129; Douglass, I., 155; Penn. Col. Records, VII., 325.

whites. The Indians had free access by these paths from the ocean to the interior, and the routes pursued from the sea to the ancient Council Fire at Easton figure numerous in the early records as the "Minisink paths."

With the gradual disappearance of the red man from Scheyechbi, the few who were left became more and more helpless. The saintly David Brainerd gave his life in his efforts to improve the spiritual and moral condition of the remnants of the Lenâpe in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but was hindered by the prejudice and suspicions of the whites on the one hand, and the evil example they set on the other.¹ Although the early Proprietors professed a solicitude for the religious welfare of the natives, it was not until Brainerd began his mission in 1742, that any effort was made in that direction. It is not to the credit of American Christianity that he was set apart for this work by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. He gathered the scattered Indian families together at Crossweeksung (Crosswicks—house of separation),² where he established a little church and school, with a view to getting the natives settled in one body,³ but in 1746 they removed to Cranbury. He also formed a congregation at Bethel. When he left his beloved Indians in the spring of 1747, to go home to die, his work was taken up by his brother John. The title of the Indians to the lands at Crosswicks was attacked by Chief Justice Robert Hunter Morris, and although the Brainerds raised money to perfect the title, the natives were discouraged. In 1754 an effort was made, doubtless through

¹ Brainerd's Life, as cited, 174, 247, 275, 298, 342; N. J. Archives, VI., 406-7; VIII., 140. The Swedish naturalist, Peter Kalm, who lived at Raccoon, New Jersey, for four years, about 1745-9, relates an anecdote, on the authority of an old Swede, illustrating the difficulty of attracting the Indians to any kind of a "talk" without liquid refreshments: "As a sermon was preached in the Swedish church at Raccoon, an Indian came in, looked about him, and, after hearkening to the preacher, said: 'Here is a great deal of prattle and nonsense, but neither brandy nor cyder,' and went out again."—*Travels into North America*, etc., by Peter Kalm, London, 1771, II., 118.

² Beatty's Journal; A Star in the West, etc., by Elias Boudinot, Trenton, N. J., 1816, p. 278.

³ Brainerd, 201, 226, 274.

Brainerd, to secure a tract of 4,000 acres in New Jersey, for the permanent settlement of the Indians. In 1756 a tract of 3,000 acres was selected, and arrangements made for its purchase by the Scotch Society supporting Brainerd. In 1757, "The New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians" was formed by a number of Friends in West Jersey, who subscribed £175 toward buying a tract of 2,000 acres for the natives. The Indian War of 1755 following Braddock's defeat, and the incursion of savages on the northern frontier of New Jersey, disquieted the public mind too greatly to permit the furtherance of any project for the permanent settlement of any considerable body of Indians in the Province. Indeed, the Christian congregations at Cranbury and Bethel felt constrained to appeal, December 2, 1755, to the Governor for protection against the whites and the hostile savages. The Governor and his Council decided that "for the Safety of other His Majestys Subjects as of the sd Indians themselves," every Indian should be registered, with their "Names & Natural Descriptions of the Persons as fully and Particularly as they can with the Number and Residence of their Family," provided the Indians should declare and prove their loyalty to the English King, whereupon they should be given a certificate, and a red ribbon to wear on the head. Any Indian lacking such certificate might be committed by any justice of the peace, until he could find security for his good behavior.¹ The natives were naturally restive under such a drastic law, and Teedyescung demanded that the authorities should "throw down the Fence that confined some of his Brethren and relatives in the Jerseys."² A conference was held with the Indians at Crosswicks early in 1756, at which pledges were made in their interest, and the Legislature in 1757 took steps to redeem them.³ Harcop, John Keyon and six Indians in the county of Bergen (probably about and north of Pompton) sent three belts of wampum to the Governor and Council, in March, 1756, in token of their

¹ N. J. Archives, XVI., 565-7, 571-3.

² Penn. Col. Records, VII., 334.

³ Nevill's Laws, II., 125.

loyalty, and of their desire to be included in the treaty of Crosswicks.¹ The Legislature in 1757 appointed commissioners with power to inquire into the Indian claims to New Jersey, with a view to their settlement.²

Another conference was held at Crosswicks in February, 1758, at which Teedyescung, King of the Delawares, was present, with a large number of Indians inhabiting the Province, and some progress was made toward adjusting the differences between the whites and the red men.³ Still further advance was made in August, 1758, at a conference held at Burlington, when the Indians asked that a tract of land in Evesham township, Burlington county, be bought for the occupancy of all the Delaware Indians living south of the Raritan river, in exchange for which they agreed to release all the rights of the natives to lands in New Jersey.⁴ The Pompton Indians did not attend this conference, although invited by Gov. Bernard.⁵ Within three weeks the Legislature appropriated £1,600 to carry the project into effect, and the land was bought (August 29, 1758), a tract of 3,044 acres, being the same as selected by John Brainerd in 1756.⁶

A most memorable conference was held at Easton in October, 1758, attended by the Governors and other dignitaries of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and upwards of five hundred Indians, half of them women and children. Teedyescung welcomed the Governor of Pennsylvania in the figurative language of his race: "According to our usual Custom, I with this String wipe the Dust and Sweat off your Face, and clear your Eyes, and pick the Briars out of your Legs, and desire you will pull the Briars out of the Legs of the Indians that are come here, and anoint one of them with

¹ N. J. Archives, XVII., 4.

² Nevill's Laws, II., 128.

³ Smith's N. J., 442.

⁴ Penn. Col. Records, VIII., 156; Smith's N. J., 449.

⁵ Penn. Col. Records, VIII., 140.

⁶ Allinson's Laws, 1776, p. 220; Liber O of Deeds, Secretary of State's office, Trenton, fol. 394; Smith's N. J., 449 et seqq.; Fragmentary History of the New Jersey Indians, by Samuel Allinson, N. J. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Second Series, IV., 31.

your healing Oil, and I will anoint the other." The Munsies or Minisinks were present—Egohohowen, with men, women and children ; the Wapings or Pumpontons—Nimhaon, Aquaywochtu, and men, women and children ; the Chehohockes or Delawares and Unamies—Teedyescung, with three interpreters, and men, women and children. All the grievances on the part of the English and the Indians were fully rehearsed, among them the continual encroachments on the lands of the natives. Teedyescung graphically phrased it thus : "I sit here as a Bird on a Bow ; I look about and do not know where to go ; let me therefore come down upon the Ground, and make that my own by a good Deed, and I shall then have a Home for Ever." At this time the treaty made at Burlington was approved, and deeds were executed by five Indians, appointed by a Council of the Delaware Nation, for all of New Jersey south of Paoqualin mountain, at Delaware river, to the Falls of Laometung, on the North Branch of Raritan river, and down that river to Sandy Hook ; and from the chiefs of the Munseys and Wapings, or Pumpontons, sixteen in number, for all of New Jersey north of the line just described. These deeds were approved by the leading men of the tribes interested, and by the Six Nations, and thus the last foot of land in New Jersey owned by the Indians was fairly bought from them and fairly paid for—a record unequalled in any other State in the Union.¹

It was estimated that there were about three hundred Indians in the Province at this time, of whom about two hundred located on the reservation at Evesham, which Gov. Bernard felicitously called "Brotherton."² John Brainerd was appointed superintendent in 1762,³ and the authorities exercised a certain amount of supervision over their dusky wards. In 1796 their condition had become so unsatisfactory that the Legislature concluded to lease the tract, and apply the proceeds for the benefit of the Indians. In 1801 the Brotherton Indians were invited by the Mauhekunnaks

¹ Smith's N. J., 455 et seqq. ; Penn. Col. Records, VIII., 174-223.

² N. J. Archives, IX., 174-6.

³ *Ib.*, 355.

(Mohegans), another Algonkin tribe, then settled at New Stockbridge, near Oneida Lake, to "pack up their mat" and to "come and eat out of their dish," adding that "their necks were stretched in looking toward the fireside of their grandfathers till they were as long as cranes." The remnant of the New Jersey Lenâpe concluded to accept this invitation, and the Legislature ordered their land to be sold,¹ which was done, and the proceeds used to defray the expenses of their removal, the balance being invested for their benefit. In 1822 the New Jersey Indians removed to Green Bay, Wisconsin, the Legislature of this State appropriating the fund (\$3,551.23) then remaining to the credit of the Brotherton colony, for the purchase of their new home and their transportation thither. In 1832 there were but forty of them left, at Green Bay, and concluding to remove further West they again appealed to the New Jersey Legislature for aid, claiming compensation for the rights of fishing and shooting, in New Jersey, which they had reserved in the treaty of 1758. Their spokesman was Bartholomew S. Calvin, son of Stephen Calvin, a West Jersey schoolmaster in the last century, and who was one of the Delaware interpreters at the great council at Easton. The Legislature, by act passed March 12, 1832, appropriated \$2,000, the sum asked by the Indians, for a final extinguishment of all the Indian claims in New Jersey. In acknowledgment, Calvin wrote a letter to the Legislature, in the course of which he said: "Not a drop of our blood have you spilled in battle—not an acre of our land have you taken but by our consent. These facts speak for themselves and need no comment. They place the character of New Jersey in bold relief, a bright example to those States within whose territorial limits our brethren still remain. *Nothing save benisons can fall upon her from the lips of a LENNO LENAPE.*"²

¹ By Act passed December 3, 1801. Some particulars concerning this tract, and a curious litigation as to its subsequent taxation, are given in N. J. Archives, IX., 357-8, note.

² This brief summary of the movements of the Brotherton Indians after leaving New Jersey is condensed from the account by Samuel Allinson, just cited. See, also, Barber and Howe's Historical Collections of New Jersey, 1845, pp. 510-11; minutes of the New Jersey House of Assembly, 1832, passim.

In 1768, at the council held at Fort Stanwix, the Indians bestowed upon Governor William Franklin, of New Jersey, the name *Sagorighwryogsta*, meaning the "Great Arbiter or Doer of Justice," in recognition of his and his people's justice in putting to death some persons who had murdered Indians in this Province.¹

These two incidents form a proud tribute to the fairness of the whites in dealing with the INDIANS OF NEW JERSEY.

INDIAN PLACE-NAMES.

Ye say they all have pass'd away,
That noble race and brave;
That their light canoes have vanish'd
From off the crested wave;
That, mid the forests where they roam'd
There rings no hunter's shout;
But their name is on your waters,
Ye may not wash it out.

Ye say their conelike cabins,
That cluster'd o'er the vale,
Have disappear'd, as wither'd leaves
Before the autumn's gale;
But their memory liveth on your hills,
Their baptism on your shore,
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore.²

The study of local nomenclature often opens up a mine of historical information. While this is not so true of Indian place-names as of those conferred by the whites, there is a natural curiosity regarding the meanings of the names of hills, valleys, rivers and streams all about us. The first systematic attempt to interpret the geographical names which the aborigines have left behind them was in a paper entitled :

Names which the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians, who once inhabited this country, had given to Rivers, Streams, Places, &c., &c., within the now States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia; and also Names of Chieftains and distinguished Men of that Nation; with the Significations of those Names, and Biographical Sketches of some of those Men. By the late Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Communicated to the American Philosophical

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., VIII., 117.

² Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney.

Society April 5, 1822, and now published by their order; revised and prepared for the press by Peter S. Du Ponceau. Pp. 351-396, Transactions American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1834.

It is from this work that most of the interpretations of aboriginal place-names in New Jersey have been copied from time to time. Unfortunately, Mr. Heckewelder took his names of places in this State from maps, with their usual errors, and hence gives Makiapier, instead of Makopin; Bomopack, for Ramapo or Ramapock; Pegunock, for Pequannock; Muscomecon, for Musconnetcong. He was also unfamiliar with the localities named, wherefore many of his conjectural interpretations are clearly wide of the mark.

Another manuscript list of Lenâpe place-names in New Jersey, etc., by Heckewelder, copiously annotated by the Rev. William C. Reichel, was published at Bethlehem, Penn., in 1872.

In a note to the writer, in 1881, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull says: "Heckewelder's guesses are absolutely worthless. He had a good *speaking* knowledge of the Delaware mission dialect, but was incapable of analyzing compound names even in that dialect, and was seldom correct in his interpretations of place-names in any other."

Dr. Trumbull has himself written the best work on the subject, brief and incomplete as it is: "Indian Names of Places etc., in and on the borders of Connecticut: with interpretations of some of them. By J. Hammond Trumbull. Hartford: 1881." This writer says: "Every [Indian] name *described* the locality to which it was affixed. This description was sometimes purely *topographical*; sometimes *historical*, preserving the memory of a battle, or feast, the residence of a great Sachem, or the like; sometimes it indicated some *natural* product of the place, or the *animals* that resorted to it; occasionally, its *position*, or direction from places previously known, or from the territory of the tribe by which the name was given.

* * * The same name might be, in fact it very often was, given to more places than one. * * * The methods of Algonkin synthesis are so exactly prescribed, that the omission or displacement of a consonant or (emphasized) vocal,

necessarily modifies the signification of the compound name, and may often render its interpretation or analysis impossible. Yet almost every term used in the composition of place-names appears under many and widely-differing forms, in some of which it becomes so effectually disguised as to defy recognition." The place-names in the southern part of New Jersey were first reduced to writing by the Swedes, while those near New York are given to us according to the Dutch pronunciation. To approximate to the correct sound of the word it is necessary to know by whom it was first written down; allowance must be made, also, for the illiteracy of the writer. A knowledge of the facts and circumstances of the locality is also important, to avoid gross blunders in the interpretation. Many place-names are simply translations of the earlier Dutch or Indian appellations, a fact that is often helpful in getting at their meaning. The fanciful and romantic had little place in aboriginal terminology, which was, indeed, usually exceedingly matter-of-fact in its significations. In the following attempts at interpreting a few Indian names of localities the foregoing principles have been held in mind.

Acquackanonk, Aquenonga, Hockquackanonk, etc.¹ — The first mention of the name, in 1678, applies it to a place "on the Pisawack river"; namely, the tract now known as Dundee, in the city of Passaic, just below the Dundee dam. In 1679 the name was used to describe a tract of land in Saddle river township, Bergen county; in the same year it was used to designate the old territory, which included

¹ This name has been a stumbling-block to scribes ever since the first attempt to reduce it to English spelling. Here are some of the variations, gleaned from the records: 1678—Aquickanucke, Haquicqueenock; 1679—Haquequenunck, Aquegnonke, Ackquekenon; 1680—Hockquekanung; 1682—Aqueyquinunke; 1683—Aquaninoncke, Hockquecanung; 1684—Aquaquanuncke; 1685—Aquickanunke, Haquequenunck; 1692—Acquicanunck; 1693—Acquiggenonck, Hockquickanon; 1694—Hackquickanon; 1696—Aqueckenonge, Achquickenoungh, Aquachonongue, Achquickenunk, Hacquickenunk; 1698—Aqueckkonunque, Aquoechononque, Achquikanuncque, Achquickenunck; 1706—Acquikanong; 1707—Hockquackonong, Hockquackanonk; 1714—Achquegenonck; 1736—Haghquagenonck. A few years ago a Jersey City newspaper condensed this sonorous Indian polysyllable into *Quacknic*.

all of Paterson south of the Passaic river, and the city of Passaic. The Dutch name for the neighborhood along the Passaic river at the head of navigation was *Slooter-dam*,¹ a dam with a gate or sluiceway in it. This suggests the meaning of *Acquackanonk*. It was the custom of the Indians, when shad came up the river, to run a dam of stones across, running from shore to shore at an angle to a converging point, leaving an opening in the middle, in which they placed a rude net of bushes, in which the fish would get entangled.² The Indian word *ach-quoa-ni-can* signifies a bush-net; taking the first two syllables, adding the connective and euphonic *k*; *hanne*, a rapid stream, and the suffix *onk*, meaning place, we have *Ach-quoa-k-han-onk*—a place in a rapid stream where fishing is done with a bush-net. Suggesting the above to the late J. Gilmary Shea, LL. D., he proposed as a modification: *Acquonan*, *Achquoanican*, a bush-net, they take with a bush-net, and *gan unk*, the locative “near where,” “or in the direction of where.” Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, one of the few living scholars profoundly versed in the Indian languages, has kindly favored the writer with this definition: *Ekwi*, between, below or under; *aki*, land; *n*, euphonic and connective; *onk*, locative termination; hence the free rendering would be: “The place where the land is between or under.” The interpretation given first above is undoubtedly the correct one.

Assenmaykapuck (1710)—“land called,” near the “Big Rock,” in Bergen county, four or five miles from Paterson. From *achsun*, stone; *makeu*, big; *puck*, locative suffix: “place of the Big Rock.”

Assenmaykapulig (1709)—“spring called,”—“the north-eastmost head of a spring of the river called Perampseapuss.” The word may be incorrectly written for assenmaykapuck. If applied to a spring, the last two syllables may be from *pilhi*, clean, pure, and the meaning would be “pure Big Rock spring.”

Asacki (1681)—a small tract of land near Lodi.

¹ Now often written Slaughter-dam.

² Loskiel, 95.

Big Rock (1709)—a translation of the Indian name, Pam-maikaipuka, from *pemapuchk*, rock ; and *machou*, big.

Campgaw—a neighborhood in Bergen county ; meaning uncertain ; perhaps the last syllable is from *kaaka*, a wild goose ; or *gawi*, a hedgehog. It is not unlikely a personal name (that is, of some Indian), applied to the locality.

Cantaqua (1686)—a personal name applied to a creek flowing into the Hackensack river.

Claverack—Dutch for *packquechen*, a meadow ; a level stretch of land in Acquackanonk township.

Communipaw, *Gamoenipa* (1643)—a village on the New Jersey shore, opposite New York ; perhaps from *gamunk*, on the other side of the river ; and *pe-auke*, water-land, water-place ; meaning a principal landing-place from the other side of the river.

Crosswicks, *Crossweeksung* (1709)—house of separation.

Espatingh, or *Ispatingh* (1650)—a hill ; back of Bergen, or about Union Hill.

Goffle, a Dutch word, properly written *Gaffel*, the fork ; doubtless a translation of the Indian *lalchaurwiechen*, fork of a road, referring to the forking of the two roads at that point—one going toward Pompton, and the other toward Hackensack.

Hackensack—Heckewelder defines it thus : “ the stream which discharges itself into another, on low level ground ; that which unites itself with other water almost imperceptibly. ” But this is a characteristic of most rivers, and is not peculiar to the Hackensack. A more plausible derivation would be from *haki*, earth or place ; *n*, euphonic and connective ; *gischi*, already, now ; *achgook*, snake : a country full of snakes, referring to the most striking feature in the landscape, Snake Hill ; or from *haki*, place ; *kitschii*, great ; *achgook*, snake : the land of the big snake. The fable that the name is derived from the incident of an unsuccessful attempt to carry “ eggs in a sack ” is not sustained by any rules of etymology or philology.

Hoboken—probably from *hopoacan*, a pipe.

Hohokus—possibly from *ho*, a shout ; and *hokes*, some kind of a bark of a tree.

Horseneck—probably from the Indian *achsin* or *assin*, a stone ; and *aki*, place ; a stony place.

Krakeel val—the Dutch name of the Oldham brook, meaning a noisy or quarrelsome stream ; doubtless a translation of the Indian name, and either referring to its turbulence, or to some fight that took place on its banks in prehistoric days.

Kinderkimack (1686)—in Essex county ; meaning unknown.

Maa eway (1709)—an Indian field so called, in the Ramapo valley, now known as Mahwah.

Macopin—properly Macopan—from *macopanackhan*, place where pumpkins grow.

Magaglayak (Magahktyake, Mawaytawekgke) 1710—an Indian field so called, on the west side of Pasqueck river.

Mainating (1710)—a little red hill or mountain in the Ramapo valley.

Mangcum (1709)—a river tributary to the Pequannock.

Maracksi (1734)—a large pond, now called Iron Works pond, north of Pompton, back of Federal Hill.

Menehenicke (1678)—the island in the Passaic river below the Sloomterdam (now Dundee dam); from *menach'hen*, island ; and *ock* or *aki*, locative suffix : island, or island place.

Moonachie—a neighborhood in Bergen county near the Hackensack meadows ; from *monachgeu*, ground-hog ; or *munhacke*, badger.

Narashunk (1710)—a tributary of the Ramapo.

Pamaraquemq (1709)—a tributary of the Pequannock.

Pamrapo, Pemmerpough (1731)—probably from *pemapuchk*, big rock.

Parampseapus (1710)—or Perampseapus, an Indian name for Saddle river ; perhaps from *ploeu*, by a permutation of consonants changed into *peroeu*, a turkey ; and *amatschipuis*, a buzzard or turkey buzzard. There is a local tradition that the name *Paramus*, sometimes pronounced *Perryimus*, means "place of wild turkeys." The termination *seapus* or *sipus* means river, so that the word appears to mean "turkey river."

Parhamus (1740), *Paramus*—near Ridgewood, Bergen county ; doubtless a contraction from *Parampseapus*.

Pascack (1740), *Pasqueck* (1710)—a river in the Ramapo valley ; probably from *pachgeecken*, where the road forks.

*Passaic*¹—the largest river in New Jersey. Heckewelder says the word means “valley.” But it has always been applied only to the river, not to the land. It is doubtless derived from the root *pach*, “to split, divide.” In New Jersey the guttural *ch* was softened into an *s*, as in *Pascack*, and other names. The termination *ic* is probably that of the suppositive form of the verb ; hence the meaning is: “where it divides,” referring, most likely, to the separation from the Hackensack.² It is possible that it refers to the split or chasm in the rocks at the Falls ; but the root *pach* is most generally applied in Algonkin dialects to the forks or branches of streams.

Peckamin—a river in Little Falls township, flowing into the Passaic a mile or two above Paterson. It is sometimes written *Peckman*’s river. The name is Indian, from *pakihm*, or *pakihmin*, cranberries, indicating that those berries once grew in the low lands overflowed by this variable stream. The termination *min* appears in many geographical names ; it means any kind of small fruit.

Pequannock (Peaquaneek, 1709 ; *Pagquanick*, *Pequanac*, *Packanack*, etc.)—a name first applied, in 1695, to some Indians, and in 1709 to a river, a tributary of the Passaic. It was very early used to designate the Pompton Plains. It is from *pauqu’un-auke*, land made clear for cultivation. There are several places of this name in Connecticut. “The name occurs, curiously disguised, in *Tippecanoe* (Ky. and Ind.), which is a corrupted abbreviation of *kehti-paquonunk*, ‘at the great clearing,’ the site of the Indian town on the Wabash river.”³

¹ Some variations in the spelling of this name are amusing: 1666—*Passaic*, *Passaick* ; 1676—*Pesayak* ; 1679—*Passawack*, *Pisawick*, *Pisaick* ; 1682—*Pasawicke*, *Passaiaick* ; 1686, *Pissaik* ; 1695—*Passaya* ; 1713—*Passaiaick*.

² This interpretation has the approval of Dr. D. G. Brinton, in a note to the writer, who had suggested this derivation, in preference to Heckewelder’s.

³ Trumbull, *Indian Names in Connecticut*, 55.

Pompton—Heckewelder defines it: *Pihmtom*, crooked mouthed, for which there is no basis. The Delaware for oblique is *pimeu*; *pihm* is to sweat. The name may be personal, not geographical; if the latter, it not unlikely refers to the fact that there was a natural reef which formed an open or wide space (*pohque*, clear, open), where Pompton Lake now is. The meaning is not at all clear.

Preakness (Parikenis, 1751)—a name applied to the Second Mountain, and to the valley west of that mountain. Toward Little Falls, this mountain was called by the Dutch, early in the last century, the *Hasteberg*, or Deer mountain, which may be the meaning of the Indian name, from *pilhiik*, clean, pure; or *pilsit*, chaste, and *awelemukunees*, a young buck; or a combination of *pil*, changed into *Pir* or *Per*, and *ukunees*—*Per-ukunees*, Preakness, a young buck. It is quite possible that some of these Indian names were given to places or localities by an earlier race than the Lenâpe, which would readily account for the difficulty of interpreting them by the dictionaries or vocabularies of the latter's language.

Rahway—a river separating the townships of Rahway and Woodbridge; usually written Rawack or Rahwack in the earliest records; possibly from the Algonkin *narwakwa*, in the middle of the forest.¹

Raikhawaiik. (1709)—“a small creek,” apparently in the Saddle River valley.

Ramapo—one of the three rivers uniting at Pompton to form the Pompton river, a tributary of the Passaic. Heckewelder suggests its derivation from *Wulomopeck*, round pond or lake; or from *lomowopek*, white on the inside. The earliest record of the name (1710) gives it as Remopuck; it was also written Romopuck, Ramopuck and Ramapock, from which it has been gradually softened into the musical Ramapo. There was a sub-tribe of Indians at or near Ridgefield, Conn., who called themselves the Ramapoos, and who sold their lands in 1708, wandering forth noone knows whither.² The termination *pock* is most probably

¹ Cuoq's *Lexique de la Langue Algonquienne*, 264.

² De Forest, *Indians of Connecticut*, 359.

from the suffix *-paug*, pond or lake. The first two syllables may be, as Heckewelder suggests, from *wulum* (by a permutation of consonants pronounced *Rum* or *Rom*), round; or possibly from the Algonkin root *nom*, oil or grease, giving the meaning round pond, or oily pond. These interpretations are unsatisfactory.

Rockaway—one of the principal tributaries of the Passaic river. The meaning is obscure.

Saddle River—a tributary of the Passaic, into which it flows a short distance below Slooter-dam. A deed in 1671 speaks of "Warepeake a run of water so called by the Indians but the right name is Rerakanes by the English Saddle river." Here is a curious bit of light on the differences among the aborigines themselves as to the correct appellation of their own streams. The different names may have been given to different parts of the river. In 1682 it was referred to, in a deed, as "Sadler's brook;" in 1685, as "Sadler's or Saddle river." Warepeak is probably from *wulit*, smooth, pleasant; and *pe-auke*, water-land, water-place: a pleasant, smooth stream, or fine land watered by a stream. A tract on the Hackensack river, above New Barbadoes, was called Warepeek in 1671. An explanation of the kind that is invented to fit the facts, would have us believe that the name Saddle River was given to the ancient township of that name, stretching along the eastern and northern shores of the Passaic, from Garfield to Little Falls, because the township had much the shape of a saddle. Unfortunately for this explanation, the name was applied to the river for a century before the township had any existence.

Secaucus—tract of land on Hackensack meadows, including Snake Hill; it has been very plausibly conjectured that the name means "place of snakes," but it is not easy to get any such derivation from the Lenâpe dialects. In the earliest records it is written Sikakes, which appears to be the diminutive form of the word. It might be derived from the Algonkin root *sek*, fright; and *-aki*, land or place—a land of terror, on account of the numerous snakes; or from *kitchi*, great, and *achgook*, snake—the land of the Big Snake. The Dutch called it *Slangenbergh*, Snake Hill.

Sicomac—a neighborhood in Bergen county. As a component of local names, the Delaware *kamik* or *kamike* means generally an enclosure, natural or artificial. In New England it usually takes the form *-komuk*, *-commuc*. The first syllable is probably a contraction of *kitchi*, great, and the meaning is "a large enclosed place." Local tradition says it was a burying ground. When the Indians sold that region, they expressly reserved Schickamack—with a characteristic regard for the graves of their ancestors.¹

Singack—a neighborhood about five miles southwest of Paterson; it is commonly called by the old people "The Singack." The name is from *schinghacki*, a flat country, whence is derived *schingask*, a boggy meadow. The name given to this neighborhood describes it accurately; it is a flat country, along the Passaic river, and is frequently overflowed in times of freshet. A tributary of the Passaic in the same neighborhood was referred to, in a deed in 1696, as "Spring brook, called by the Indians Singanck."

Slank—a name applied in the neighborhood of Paterson to a small body of water setting back like a bay along the shores of a river. It is doubtless of Indian origin, from *sihilieu*, the freshet abates, the river subsides; *hannek*, a flowing river, whence *sihilieu-hannek*, contracted into *slank*—the back-water from a freshet, and in time applied as above stated to a permanent body of water forming a bay or gulf along the shores of a river.

Slinker Val—mentioned in a deed in 1696, as the "Slinker fall brook," a tributary of the Passaic near Third

¹ There was an Indian burying-ground (Tawwundin) on the west bank of the Passaic river, near President street, in the city of Passaic. The writer has been informed by ex-Judge Henry P. Simmons, of that city, that about 1830 the field was full of indentations, showing where the Indians had been buried, in a sitting posture. Many relics were exhumed from these graves. The aborigines were wont, for many years after they had left these parts, to return with the remains of some distinguished member of their tribe to lay them beside the bones of his fathers. There was a place called Shekomeko, in New York, near the borders of Connecticut, where was an Indian burying ground, evidently giving its name to the locality. See A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians, etc., by John Heckewelder, Philadelphia, 1820, pp. 21, 28.

river. The name is Dutch, *de slinker val*, the left(-hand) brook.

Succasunna—a locality in Morris county famous for the iron ore mined there since 1715. This fact suggests the origin of the name, from *sukeu*, black; *achsun*, softened into *assin* or *assun*, stone; and *ink* or *unk*, locative suffix: *suk-assun-ink*, the place where the black stone is found. The Indian word for iron is *sukachsín*, black stone.

Totowa (written also *Totua*, *Totohaw*, *Totowaw*, *Totaway*, etc.)—the name of a tract of land extending from Clinton street, Paterson, southwesterly to the line of Little Falls township, and from the Passaic river westerly to the base of the Preakness mountain. The word is pronounced *Tow-tow-ah*, with the accent on the first syllable. Heckewelder applies the name to the Passaic Falls, which are embraced in the tract, and derives the name from "*Totauwéi*, to sink, dive, going under water by pressure, or forced under by weight of the water." As in so many other of Heckewelder's conjectural interpretations, his definition is not rightly applied. *Totowa* is a tract of several thousand acres of land, and the Falls were not called by that name until seventy years after the purchase of the land by the whites. The Delaware word for a water-fall is *sokpehellak* (cataract), or *sookpehellen*, the water tumbles down from a precipice; for a large or great fall, *kschuppehella gahenna*. Clearly, the name does not describe the Falls. In a note to the writer Dr. Brinton says the name "appears to be certainly the Delaware *tetauwi*, it is between." This correctly describes the tract. It is *between* the river and the mountain. Moreover, it may have been regarded as neutral ground, *between* the Hackensacks and the Pomptons.¹ It is with diffidence that the author ventures to suggest another interpretation. The savage dweller in the ancient wilderness about the Falls was above all things superstitious. He

¹ Ex-Judge Henry P. Simmons, of Passaic, who was born in 1815, and has a remarkably good memory, says he always heard the "old people" say that the Hackensack Indians owned the country known as Acquackanonk, and that the Pomptons owned the land north and west of the Passaic river, at Paterson. This tradition is corroborated by the deeds which have been cited.

lived in a state of double consciousness, as it were, and to his untutored mind it was difficult in the extreme to distinguish between the real and the unreal. What wonder if as he gazed upon that mighty cataract hurling itself with resistless force and with unceasing, bewildering motion down through those black rocks, split asunder for its passage; what wonder, we say, if his fancy, ever on the alert to perceive supernatural influence, should conjecture that here dwelt a mighty spirit, the very symbol of energy—of the power to do—expressed by the Algonkin root *-twa* or *-to*; or the Cree *totawew*,¹ having almost precisely the pronunciation of our own *Totowa*? The Indian never dreamed of harnessing that mighty energy, and compelling it to do his bidding. He left it to the white man to accomplish that mighty feat.

Wanaque—a river and a valley—a very beautiful one, too—in Passaic county, about thirteen miles northwest of Paterson. The word is pronounced, and until within a few years was always written, Wynockie, which doubtless approximates to the sound of the Indian word. *Wanaque* is perhaps more musical, and looks more pleasing to the eye. The name occurs in that form in some of the earliest deeds. An obvious derivation would seem to be from *winak*, sassafras, from the root *won* or *win*, expressive of a pleasurable sensation, the leaves of the sassafras being sweet; and *-aki*, place, land: the sassafras place. A more poetic derivation would be from the Algonkin root *Wanki*, peace, repose.

Wagara—the name of a small stream east of Paterson, flowing into the Passaic river, near the Wagara or River street bridge. The word is pronounced by the old Dutch people Wagharagh, accent on the first syllable. The name may refer to the location of the neighboring land, as being at the bend of the Passaic river—from *woakeu*, crooked or bent; and *-aki*, land, place: the country at the bend of the river. The territory on the opposite side of the Passaic was called by the earliest Dutch settlers *De Bogt*, the Bend, which may have been suggested by the Indian *Wagara*.

¹ Cuq, as cited, 407. Lacombe gives these forms: mayi-totawew, il lui fait mal; miyo-totawew, il lui fait du bien. See his *Cris Dictionnaire*, 623.

This is one of the most pleasing of our place-names, and by all means should be preserved.

Watchung (1677)—Wesel, Garret or First Mountain; from *wachtschu* or *wadchu*, hill, mountain; and the locative suffix *unk*, place where: mountain place. In the Minisink dialect *wachunk* signifies high.

Watsessing—the Indian name for the country about Bloomfield, is from the same root *wadchu*, hill; *achsun*, *assin*, stone, and the locative suffix *ink* or *unk*: a stony hill. There is a whimsical local tradition that the name indicates that the place was formerly the seat of the Ward family; this has been invented to explain the early name, Ward session, which is simply a corruption of the aboriginal appellation.

Wequahick—the creek between Newark and Elizabeth; from *ekwi*, between, *Wiquajek*, at the end, or at the head of a creek or run. The English name is Bound Creek, evidently a translation of the Indian.

Wieramius (1740)—a tract in Bergen county; usually pronounced Weary-mus. The meaning is not clear.

Winbeam—the name of a mountain overlooking the Wanaque valley. In some of the old deeds it is written Wimbemus, which would suggest a derivation from *wimb*, heart of a tree; *-bi*, tree; *moschiwi*, bare, open: a solitary tree on a bleak mountain top.

Winocksark (1686)—a brook running into Saddle river. Not unlikely from the same origin as Wanaque.

Yanticaw; also written Yauntakah (1677), Yantico, etc.—the Indian name of Third river, flowing into the Passaic and forming the southern boundary of Acquackanonk township. Dr. Trumbull suggests as the meaning of the name *Yantic*, in Connecticut, a derivation from *yden-tuk*, extending to the tidal-river, which would correctly describe the Yanticaw. Possibly the name is a corruption of *kintekary*, the Indian ceremonial dance, which may have been celebrated habitually in some secluded vale along that charming stream. An Indian Chief of the Hackensack tribe, called Cantagua or Tantaqua, and after whom a tributary of the Hackensack was called Cantagua's creek, may have given his name to this river also.

Yawpaw—a locality in Bergen county, a few miles from Paterson; probably named from the Minisink sachem Iaoapogh, of whom mention has been made. A definition suggested by Dr. Trumbull for a somewhat similar name (*Yau-bucks*) seems applicable here—*yawi-pogs*, on one side of the small pond.

This attempt to give life to the Indian names about us, by interpreting their meaning, so that they may be to us something more than mere words, is attended with obvious difficulties. The suggestions here made may stimulate others to further and more successful efforts, which shall tend to illustrate the truth of the Homeric saying: "Words are winged, and will soon fly away unless fastened down with the weight of meaning."

"THE INDIAN INTERPRETER."

Reference has been made to this compilation of Lenape words and phrases, written down evidently by a trader, in West Jersey, in 1684, and recorded in the Salem Town Records, Liber B, for the use of the inhabitants. This vocabulary was printed in the American Historical Record, July, 1872 (Vol. I., pp. 308-11), but with many typographical errors. Through the kindness of the Hon. Henry C. Kelsey, Secretary of State of New Jersey, in whose office this interesting record remains, the following transcript of the "Indian Interpreter" has been carefully compared with the original:

| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Cutte | One |
| Nisha | Two |
| Necca | Three |
| Neuwa | Four |
| Pal en ah | Five |
| Cuttas | Six |
| Neshas | Seven |
| Haas | Eight |
| Pescunk | Nine |
| Tellen | Ten |
| Tellen oak Cutte | Eleven |
| Tellen oak Nisha | Twelve |
| Tellen oak Necca | Thirteen |
| Tellen oak Neuwa | Fourteen |
| Tellen oak Pallen ah | Fifteen |
| Tellen oak Cuttas | Sixteen |
| Tellen oak Neshas | Seventeen |
| Tellen oak Haas | Eighteen |
| Tellen oak Pescunk | Nineteen |

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Nissinach | Twenty |
| Sickenom | Turkey |
| Kahake | Goose |
| Quing-Quinq | Duck |
| Neckaleckas | Hen |
| Copohan | Sturgeon |
| Hamo | Shad |
| Hurissameck | Cat Fish |
| Sehacameck | Eel |
| Cakickan | Perch |
| Lamjss | Fish |
| Weeko | Tallow or suet |
| Pomee | Grease or any fat |
| Kee-mauholume | Wilt thou buy |
| Neemauholum | I will buy |
| Kecko-Kee-wingenum | What wilt thou have or what hast thou a mind to have |
| Kec-loe Keckoe kee Wingenum | Say what thou hast a mind to |
| Newingenum | I have a mind to |
| Kake, or Sewan | Wampum |
| Alloquepeper | Hat or Cap |
| Aquewan | Coat or Woollen Cloak |
| Wepeck a quewan | White Match Coat |
| Limbiss, Lymen | Cloth or Shirt |
| Saccutackan | Breeches |
| Cockoon | Stockings |
| Seppock | Shoes |
| Piakickan | Gun |
| Punck | Powder |
| Alunse | Lead |
| Assin | Stone, Iron, Brass, &c. |
| Assinnus | Kettle or Pot |
| Tomahickan | Axe |
| Quippeleno | Hoe |
| Pocksucan | Knife |
| Tocosheta | Pair of Scizzors |
| Shauta | Tobacco |
| Hapockon | Pipe |
| Brandywyne | Rum &c. &c. |
| Hyoahnetap | Thou good friend, or good be to thee, friend |
| Tackomen | Whence comest thou |
| Tack tough or tana Ke matcha | Whither goest thou |
| undoque | Yonder (a little way) |
| Kecko larense | What is thy name |
| Hickole | Yonder (farther, a great way) |
| Kecko-Ke-hatta | What hast thou |
| Matta ne hatta | I have nothing |
| Nee hatta | I have |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Cutte hatta | One Buck |
| Nonshuta | A Doe |
| Hayes | A skin not dressed |
| Hay | A skin dressed |
| Tomoque | Beaver |
| Hunnickick | Otter |
| Mwes | Elk |
| Mack | Bear |
| Hoccus | Fox |
| Nahaunum | Raccoon |
| Sinques | Wild Cat |
| Hannick | Squirrel |
| Tumaummas | Hare |
| Miningus | Mink |
| Iwse | Meat or flesh |
| Kush-Kush | Hog |
| Copy | Horse |
| Ninneunggus | Mare |
| Muse | Cow |
| Nonackon | Milch |
| Makees | Sheep |
| Minne | Drink or Ale |
| Pishbee | Small Beer |
| Hosequen | Corn |
| Pone | Bread |
| Hoppenas | Turnips |
| Seckha | Salt |
| Kee Wingenunune | Do you like this |
| Matta | No |
| Me matta Wingenun | I do not care for it |
| Sing Koatum | I do not care, I will cast it away. |
| Mcchee | Aye or Yes |
| Me mauholume | I will buy it. |
| Kemannis kin une | Wilt thou sell this |
| Keeko | What |
| Keeko gull une | How many Guilders for this |
| Keko Meele | What wilt thou give for this |
| Cutte Wickan Cake | One fathom of Wampum |
| Nee Meele | I will give thee |
| Cutte steepa | One stiver or farthing |
| Cutte Gull | One Guilder or Six pence |
| Momolicomum | I will leave this in pawn |
| Singa Ke natunum | When wilt thou fetch it |
| Singa Kee petta | When wilt thou bring it |
| Undoque | Yonder |
| Necka Couwin | After three sleeps or three days hence. |
| Singa ke petta | When wilt thou bring it. |
| Tana Ke natunum | When wilt thou fetch it |

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Singa | When |
| Incka or Kisquicka | To day. This day. A Day |
| Hapitcha | By and by |
| Alloppau | To morrow |
| Tana Hatta | When hadst thou it |
| Quash matta die con | Why didst thou lend it |
| Kacko pata | What hast thou brought |
| Cuttas Quingquing | Six Ducks |
| Olet | It's Good |
| Matta Olet | It's bad |
| Matta ruti | It's good for nothing |
| Husko Seeka | It's very handsome |
| Husko Matit | It's very ugly |
| Ke runa matauka | Thou wilt fight |
| Jough Matcha | Get thee gone |
| Undoque matapa | Sit yonder |
| Ne mathit wingenum | We will be quiet |
| Noa | Come hither or come back |
| Payo | To come |
| Match poh | He is come or coming |
| Raa Munga | Within |
| Cochmink | Without |
| Tungshena | Open |
| Poha | Shut |
| Scunda | The door |
| Ke Cakeus | Thou art drunk |
| Opposicon | Beyond thyself |
| Husko Opposicon | Much drunk |
| Mockerick | A great deal |
| Tcnkit | A little |
| Maleema Cacko | Give me something |
| Abij or bee | Water |
| Minatau | A little cup to drink in |
| Mitchen | Victuals |
| Mets | Date |
| Poneto | let it alone |
| Husko lallacutta | I am very angry |
| Ke husko nalan | Thou art very idle |
| Chingo Ke matcha | When wilt thou go |
| Mesickecy | Make haste |
| Shamahala | Run |
| Husko taquatse | Its very cold |
| Ne Dogwatcha | I'm very cold, I freeze |
| Whinna | Snow or Hail |
| Ahalea coon hatta | Have abundance of Hail, Snow and ice. |
| Take | Freeze |
| Suckholan tisquicka | A rainy day |
| Roan | Winter |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Sickquim | The Spring |
| Nippinge | Ye Summer |
| Tacockquo | The Fall |
| Tana Ke wigwham | Where is thy house |
| Hockung Kethaning | Up ye River |
| Tana matcha ana | Where goes ye pate |
| Jough undoque | Go yonder |
| Hitock | Tree |
| Hitock nepa | There stands a tree |
| Mamamtukan, Mama-do-Wickon, | |
| Mana-dickon | Peach or Cherry |
| Virum | Grapes |
| Acotetha | Apple |
| Hosquen | Corn |
| Cohockon | Mill |
| Rocat | Flour or Meal |
| Keenhammon | Grind it |
| Nutas | Bag or Basket |
| Poquehero | It's broke |
| Roanouh-heen | A North West Wind |
| Rutte-hock | Ye ground will burn and be de- stroyed |
| Hockcung | A chamber |
| Quequera | Where I |
| Qulamtanansi | I look for a place to lie down |
| Oke cowin | And sleep |
| Kee catungo | For I am sleepy |
| Aloppau | To morrow |
| Ne nattunum huissi | I will go a hunting |
| Takene | In ye woods |
| Attoon attonamon | Going to look a Buck |
| Matcha pauluppa shuta | I have caught a Buck |
| Accoke | Snake |
| Mockerick accoke | Rattle Snake |
| Husko Purso | Very sick or near death |
| Innamanden | A sore, hurt, cut, or bruise |
| Tespahala | Ye Small Pox |
| Nupane | Ye ague |
| Singuape | Hold thy tongue |
| Singuape Kock in hatta | Be quiet, the earth has them, they are dead. |
| Sheek | Grass or any green herb |
| Hocking | The ground |
| Hockehockon | A plantation |
| Nee Tutttona | My country |
| Ouritita | A Plain, even, smooth |
| Oana | Path or Highway |
| Singa Mantauke | When we fight |
| Ne holock | Do hurt |

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Ne rune husce huissase | We are afraid |
| Opche huissase | Always afraid |
| Ne olockotoon | We run into holes |
| Kockoke lunse une | What dost thou call this |
| Checonck | Looking Glass |
| Powatahan | A pair of Bellows |
| Itcohoha | A Cradle |
| Mamole hickon | Book or paper |
| Seckock | Table, Chair or Chest |
| Sepussing | Creek |
| Kitthanning | River |
| Moholo | Canoe |
| Rena Moholo | Great Boat or Ship |
| Taune Ke hatta | Where hast thou it |
| Ne taulle Ke Rune | I will tell thee |
| Ne Maugholame | I bought it |
| Ke kemuta | Thou hast stole it |
| Matta ne Kamuta | No I did not steal it |
| Taune maugholame | Where didst thou buy it |
| A B undoquo | Yond of A B |
| B C Sickomelee | B C will give me so much for it |
| Sawee | All |
| Hockung Tappin | God |
| Manitto | The Devil |
| Renus leno | A man |
| Peray | A lad |
| Penaetit | A Boy |
| Issimus | A Brother |
| Runcassis | A Cousin |
| Nitthurrus | Husband |
| Squaw | Wife |
| Noeck | Father |
| Anna | Mother |
| Haxis | An old woman |
| Aquittit | A little girl |
| Kins Kiste | Maid ripe for marriage |
| Papouse | Sucking child |
| Munockon | Monk or woman |
| Qualis | Master |
| Tolle muse | Servant |
| Wheel | The head |
| Meelha | The hair |
| Skinch | The eyes |
| Hickiwat | The nose |
| Iwn | The mouth |
| Wippit | The Teeth |
| Pentor | Ye ear or hearing |
| Quaquangan | The neck |
| Nacking | The hands |

| | |
|----------------|-------------|
| Ponacka | Two hands |
| Huckun | The back |
| Wotigh | The belly |
| Hickott | The legs |
| Ceet | The feet |
| Jucka | A day |
| Kishquecon | A week |
| Kisho | A month |
| Cothingo | A year |
| Passica catton | Half a year |

COMPARISON OF THE UNAMI AND MINSI DIALECTS.

| | Unami. | Minsi. |
|---------|-----------|---------------|
| God | Patamawos | Pachtamawos |
| Earth | hacki | achgi |
| Valley | pasaeck | pachsajech |
| Beard | wuttoney | wuchtoney |
| Tooth | wipit | wichpit |
| Blood | Mocum | Mochcum |
| Night | ipocu | ipochcu |
| Pretty | schiki | pschickki |
| Small | tangeto | tschankschisu |
| Stone | Assinn | achsun |
| The Sea | Kithanne | gichthanne |
| Light | Woacheu | woaschejeek |
| Black | Suksit | neesachgissit |
| Chief | sakima | wajauwe |
| Green | asgask | asgasku |
| No, not | matta | machta |

COMPARISON OF THE DELAWARE AT INTERVALS DURING 210 YEARS.

| | Campanius. 1645 Swedish Orthography. | Zeisberger. 1778 German Orthography. | Whipple. 1855 English Orthography. |
|--------|---|---|---|
| Man | rhenus | lenno | lenno |
| Woman | aquaeo | ochque | h'que'i |
| Father | nw& | nooch (my) | nuuh |
| Mother | kahaess | gahowes | gaiez |
| Head | kwijl | wil | wil |
| Hair | mijrack | milach | milakh |
| Ear | hittaock | w'hittawak (pl.) | howitow |
| Eye | schinck | w'ushgink | tukqueling |
| Nose | wikuwan | w'ikiwan | ouikio |
| Mouth | tw& | w'doon | ouitun |
| Tongue | hijrano | w'ilano | ouilano |
| Tooth | wippit | w'epit | ouipita |
| Hand | alaenskan | w'anach | puck-alenge |
| Foot | zijt | sit | zit |
| Heart | chitto, kitte | ktee (thy) | hute |
| House | wickwmn | wiquoam | ouigwam |
| Pipe | hopockan | hopenican | haboca |
| Sun | chisogh | gischuch | kishu'h |
| Star | aranck | alank | alang' |
| Fire | taenda | tindey | tundaih |
| Water | bij | mbi | bih |
| Snow | kuun | guhn | kuno |

MIGRATIONS OF THE NEW JERSEY INDIANS.

The Minisink and Pompton Indians had nearly all left New Jersey by the middle of the last century, gradually drifting westward to and beyond the Mississippi, although some of the former found their way to Canada. In 1822 there was published, at New-Haven, "A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs, comprising a narrative of a tour performed in the Summer of 1820, under a commission from the President of the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining, for the use of the Government, the actual state of the Indian tribes in our country," by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D. D. It is an octavo volume of four hundred and ninety-six pages, and is a most valuable document. Dr. Morse gives these particulars of the New Jersey Indians:

Brothertons, near Oneida Lake; adopted into the Six Nations.¹

Delawares, a few, at Cattaraugus, New York; 80 near Sandusky, Ohio; 1800 west of the Mississippi river, on Currant river; a town of Delawares twenty miles south of Chicago; sixteen miles north of the centre another town; between them, two villages; another town on White river; in all, five towns containing about 1,000 souls, Delawares, Muncies, Mohegans, Nanticokes, etc. In 1802 a council was held at Wappecommehhoke, on the banks of the White river, between the Delawares and delegates of the Moheakunnunk nation, at which the former accepted the propositions of the latter, including civilization. Tatepahqsect, of the Wolf clan, was the speaker and principal Sachem of the Delawares; his head warrior was Pokencheloh. In 1818 the Delawares numbered about 800 on the banks of the White river, their principal town being Wapeminskink, or chestnut tree; their principal chief was Thahutooweelent, or William Anderson, of the Turkey tribe.²

The latest statistics of the Indians who once inhabited New Jersey are given in the Seventh Annual Report of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, for 1885-6. According to these figures there were then living about 1,750 Delawares, more than half of whom were in Indian Territory, incorporated with the Cherokees; about 200 Munsees, more than half on the Thames, in Ontario, a few at Green Bay, Wis., a few with the Onondagas and Senecas, in New York, and others in Kansas. Those in Ontario still preserve accurate traditions of localities in New Jersey, and, as already stated, the little remnant in Kansas have not yet forgotten the tales told by their grandfathers of what *their* ancestors had said, and thought and done in the far-away times when they hunted and fished along the shores of *Scheyehbi*.

¹ Morse, 24; Appendix, 76.

² Morse, Appendix, 87, 108, 236, 110.

THE INDIAN MISSION AT CRANBURY, IN 1756.

The following letter of the Rev. William Tennent, of New Jersey, never before published, as far as known to the author, in whose possession it now is, gives some interesting particulars of the Indian Mission at Cranbury. It will be observed that Mr. Tennent uses the letter "y" very freely for "th."

Freehold march 1756

As it has been ye Constant practis of my Reverend Brethren mesurs David, & John Brainard; to give an act of ye state of ye Indian Congregation under their Charge (at least annuall) for ye satisfaction of all concerned, with the means they used to promote God worke [am]ong them. in As much as I have been intrusted with ye care of that society, for some time past; apprehending that something of that Kind may be (Reasonably,) expected of me, have drawn up ys General, & succinct narrative.

All their Lands haveing been sould by a drunken Indian by wc they were liable to be turned off at pleasure, & so scatered yt that they cold not enjoy Gospel ordinances: to prevent wc, care has been taken to secure to ym 500 acers of ye same large tract, & they have now Removed on to it & made some considerable improvements. So yt yy have a medium for their temporal suport for ye present, & can conveniently meet for divine praise. But as there Bounds is too contracted to encourage others to settle among them I hope means will stil be used to obtain a large tract, for ye use of all such as may be inclined to imbrace the christian Religion &c. then wc nothing is more necessary to ye spreading ye gospel among ye indians, except it be, ye continewing to build up yt Church, wc oure Lord by ye unwiered labours of his servants hes graciously Raised among them.

to return The School had been droped for some time, & ye Children neglected except by ye almost matchless pains of mr. Br & after all (by his many avocations) cold not carry ym on in their Learning as other ways yy might be. nor had he freedom to imploy a master partly becaus yy were unsettled, & partly ye smalness of ye medium wc had to support on. But as ye Learning of ye children is of ye last importance to ye spread of christian knowlog I venturd to erect ye scool under ye care of an Indian master, hopeing by ys means to have it continewed at much less charge, as also to rais in ye Indians a Laudable emulation in Learning, by advanceing one of ym selfs to be master. Blessed be God I am not disapoynted. The school is Regularly carried on; ye Children learn well I have weekly examined them & am Refreshed at their progress. morning & evening prayer is performed by ye master, & a due decorum preserved, tho we greatly need Catechisms & other bookes; there are between 15 & 20 ordinarily yt attend & sometimes more.

I have according to my measure preached to ye congregation once evrey week ordinarily, & frequently oftener, as I can preach wt them in ye morning, & at my one church in ye afternoon; ye distance being as

is computed between 7 & 8 miles. nor have I failed to discharge every part of the Pastoral office as far as I am acquainted with it, tho there has been all and still is in all great weakness, and many sinful infirmities we need the blood of X to cleanse them.

The Congregation is in point of number is rather larger yⁿ wⁿ Mr Br left it some having returned who had left it & have declared y^e could not be easy in their hearts without the preached word. They are sincerely attached to the English interest & I doubt not would be as free to venture their all in defence of it as any of his Majesty's subjects as is evident from the declaration of one of them called Simon who listed in the Provincial troops the last campaign. being asked by me whether he intended to enlist he replied that he understood that the French had not only a design to take our lands but to keep us from serving Jesus as he would have us. & further added that as he had given himself to X soul & body he thought it his duty to fight for him. I asked him how he made out with his fellow soldiers? he answered he was more afraid of y^m yⁿ y^e enemy y^e were so wicked, for so he y^e drink y^e swear y^e fight, & don't mind the Sabbath. I again asked him whether he did about praying? he answered, tho he could but seldom get alone yet he often goes when under arms lifted up his heart to Jesus X who graciously made his heart warm with love to him. excuse this digression.

Professors among them are generally regular in the walk there has been but two instances of misconduct that I know of among the members since I was concerned with the society one that was drinking to excess. & both have publicly confessed it nay one of the persons spoke so to the congregation warning y^m by his fall that y^r was floods of tears shed all over the house he was so affected himself that he was not able to speak for some time, & after he began to speak was more yⁿ once constrained to stop, & sob as if his heart would break, such was his sense of the dishonour done to God. I would to God that amongst our selves where more may be expected there was such precious evidences of contrition.

The worship of God is carried on in y^r families from house to house morning & evening they convene twice a week when y^e convers together about the things of God pray to the Lord & sing his praises exclusive of the times of my being with them & on Lord's Day they meet 3 times to worship they read some portion of scripture & then alternately pray, & sing. it is to be feared that some of them join out of mere form & custom, tho I doubt not others of y^m worship the Lord, in spirit, & truth.

My conversation has often ministered matter of reproof, & quickening to my vain & sluggish heart, thus my Lord has sent me to reap that on which I bestowed no labour, others have laboured & I am a partaker of the fruit of y^r toil, but God have all the glory.

Some I hope have got saving benefit since I preached among them some have been brought under concern about their state some have been comforted.

I have baptised 3 adults who gave charitable reason to hope they are sincere. To conclude tho I have had no small exercise on there account chiefly occasioned by some ill minded people who have wickedly endeavoured to insensate y^r neighbours against them merely because y^e Indians

on ye frontéars have committed many murders, yy sought to have these poor innocents cut off &c. I say altho I have been il used (becaus I interposed in their behalf) in my Character yet ye Lord hes made my labours among ym sweet to my soul, so yt I have gon to instruct ym as a mother to feed ye child of her love & in heart bless ye lord yt he counts me worthy to either do or suffer [for] him.

THE INDIAN MISSION AT BROTHERTON, IN 1775.

The state of the Mission at Brotherton nineteen years later is thus described in a letter from the missionary in charge, the Rev. John Brainerd, written from Bridgeton (now Mount Holly), February 9, 1775. The original is in the author's possession. The following extracts are all that relate to the subject :

" With regard to the principal Subject of your Letter, I hardly know what to say. I feel myself unworthy of any good, and yet cannot Say that I do not desire to devote my little *all* to the Lord without any reserve. 'Tis also True that my Situation, especially for these fifteen Years last past, has borne hard upon my Circumstances, and no human prospects that I can discover for it being less so. Nevertheless if any more pious & charitable Objects than the Cause I am concerned in offer, I am heartily willing to give way. I know in whom I have trusted—tho' alas! my Trust & Faith & Hope & every good thing is very feeble! For my Own Part I must needs Say I do not know of any thing within the small circle of my Acquaintance, where the Credit of Religion is more concerned, or would be more helped than in doing some thing for this Mission. But altho' I could know that my bare opinion should prove Satisfactory to you, which I would not have the vanity to think, it would be no way Satisfying to myself in such a tender Point. I shall therefore in as few words as I can, give you something of the State of ye matter as it is.

" The Missionhouse at Brotherton, which, I believe is near about 30 £ in my Debt, has had no more done to it than was necessary to make it Some how tollerable for Worship—is very cold & uncomfortable in Winter, and has only a wooden foundation, or in other words, is supported with wooden blocks, Stone being not to be had without Some Expense,—and having now stood more than 15 Years Stands in need of some other repairs. The dwelling house which is a *Parsonage* is so ruinous as not to be habitable in the Winter Season, and dangerous in every high wind at any other time. This obliges us to move every Fall with very considerable Trouble and Loss, besides the Detriment to the Mission.

" At *Wepinck*, the other Indian Place—about 12 miles from Brotherton, we have put up with meeting for Divine Worship in a poor Indian Hut,—(often the bigger part of the Congregation out of Doors) till last Summer, when we attempted to raise a Meeting House, and proceeded so far as to get it enclosed,—with three glass Windows & the under Floor laid. Some Boards that were left laid on Blocks Serve us for Seats.—The neighbouring white People have Subscribed & Paid Some—

thing but they are generally in Strait Circumstances, and cannot do much. There are sundry other Places where help is greatly needed respecting Houses for public Worship in these Parts, and which to all appearance would be to the Honor of Religion and greatly help a good cause, but I do not propose them as Objects of Charity in the present case—nevertheless, if I was a person of fortune I should be at no Loss what was my duty in that respect."

INTERESTING LETTER FROM A DESCENDANT OF A NEW
JERSEY INDIAN KING.

The following letter is of interest on many accounts. It is written by the great-granddaughter of a noted Indian Chief of New Jersey. It has been often said that the Indians have no trustworthy traditions, and that usually the memory of events dies out in a single generation. But here we have a minute account, told as if by an eye-witness, of an occurrence that happened one hundred and forty years earlier. We have particulars, too, of the labors of David Brainerd, who died nearly one hundred and twenty years before the letter was written. The description of the Indian village in Kansas, mainly populated by descendants of the Lenapé of New Jersey, is also of interest. The original of this letter is among the archives of the Synod of New Jersey, at Princeton. For this copy the author is indebted to the Rev. Allen H. Brown, of Camden.

To the Rev. Mr. Marsh,¹

Dear Sir:—Your kind and interesting letter was gladly received, after being over a month on its way here. I was joyfully surprised to hear from you and your family after so long a time, especially little Sarah, (I must call her little because it makes me think of by-gone days) and to learn that there is still in existence one of the Brainerd family.

My father said David had 2 or 3 large churches amongst the Delawares, as they were scattered about in different parts of the country they being very numerous at that time. Did my father ever tell you why they were so scattered? it was because they did not all like their present King, their former King met his fate some years before I will tell you something about it. He was a poor pagan, living in heathen darkness, it pains my heart to even think of it, although it is said that he was a very honest upright man in all his dealings very much loved by his subjects.

Well there was a white man lived on his land by the name of Lenard who kept rum to sell to the Indians, the King use to have spells of drinking and when he got sober Lenard would tell him he had bought a

¹ At Chicago, Ills.

large tract of land of him and this was repeated over and over. At length he got so enraged at him while walking in the garden, when Lenard told how many miles of land he had signed off to him while he was drinking, he told Lenard you have cheated me so much I am a great mind to shoot you. I turned round and faced him opened his shirt bosom told him now shoot, he shot him immediately through the breast as he always carried a loaded rifle. He then gave himself up to the whites, told them not to come with a large company of men to his House, and scare his family send only one man and I will saddle my horse and go with him quietly. But no they went with a great company they did not only take him but they took all his negroes his property of all kind except one old negro woman and she had 12 silver spoons, this was all the property the Kings wife had left her with 4 or 5 small children one a few days old; the King had been a great friend to the Governor and to all the whites the Governor use to go and dine with him and he with the Governor the Kings name was We-queh-a-lah.

His subjects offered to go and take him out of jail by force that he might go towards the west. But he told them no I have killed a bad man and I am willing to hang for it and moreover I want you to live in peace with your pale faced brethren, if I should run away the pale face would always be killing you, I shall save a great many lives if I am hung, but I don't want them to hang me, I want them to shoot me like a man. I did not hang that man I shot him, and If I let them hang me the Great Spirit will take me to the good hunting ground, but if I run away he won't let me go there and it would not be right for a king to run away, and many other such words he said. But they hung him before the time, the Governor sent a reprieve, but it was too late, he was dead.

After that they turned his wife out of her home took all her land everything she had. She had a great many horses and cattle, a great deal of silver ware many such things were given to him by the English. She did not live long after the husband's death her children all died soon after except his only daughter 3 years old poor child she suffered much while a child saw her aunt killed by a white man. I will only say she suffered everything but death, this poor child was my fathers mother. She was one of Davids Brainerd converts one among the first he was the first white man she could love. She had always been so afraid of white men. She said God had sent this man to pay her for all the wrongs the white people had done her. She was over paid, now she loved everybody and could pray for everybody. She loved David because he loved his Heavenly father so much that he was willing to suffer hardship, traveling over mountains lying on the cold ground suffering hunger that he might do her people good. She done all she could for his comfort her husband was one of David's teachers, although his talents were very much limited, but I suppose it did not require a man of much learning in those days to commence teaching.

After the death of David, John Brainerd came amongst them, labored with them not quite three years and he¹ died. I do not recollect what

¹ i. e. David died.

my father said about his death, but I know he said his death was very much lamented by the Indians, especially by his mother, for she loved him very much, for he made his home at my grand-fathers all the time he was in that place that accounts for having the horn¹ in our family he left it ther when he died, his brother used it before him I hope you still have it if I had it I would try and send it to this man you spoke of² I could not tell how many were converted I herd my father say ther were some hundreds of them hopeful converts. My great grand father told his people before he died they must go west where there were no pale face to sell them rum and cheat them out of there lands, some of them went off before David came amongst them. But after the Brainerds finished their labors amongst them, they went off West to the Ohioh or White River Country in small bands or companies, fathers oldest brother went with them. I am happy to say that many of them carried with them the good seed sown in their hearts to the far west the iast company that was left in New Jersey my father brought to New Stockbridge in the state of New York but they have all nearly died off, some went to Kansas and they are dead, there are none here in this place only my family, my sister Hannah has two children living, one is living with me and my boys. I have only one sister living she is at Duck Creek.

My father never said much about Brainerds labors among the Stockbridges although I have heard him speak about them, he and Mr. Mxtoxen were saying something but I cant remember. I think my father knew very little about it. I remember now that Mr. Mxtoxen told me that David B. done a great deel of good among the Stockbridges had a large church among them but he did not stay with them long father said when David first showed my people what sin was and that Christ came on this world and died to save them from everlasting punishment they felt so bad to think Christ suffered for such wicked Indians as they were, many of them threw themselves on the ground and sobed a loud.

There is about 34 families here. We have a church here about 20 members but not all in good standing there are about ten old members still living. Moses Charles died here last April, he died in the full triumphs of faith, his son Darius is a member of the Church. Our Church is a Methodest, there is a Methodest Church at Shawano, the Minister came here found us without a Minister so he organized a Church here I was the last old member taken in I am to have a letter when ever I want to join another church. We cant have good crops here on account of the late and early frosts. I dont think we can raise anything this year we have such a drouth we have had little or no rain for two months Fire has done a great deal of harm, but the Lords will be done blessed be his name. I find no one that knows anything about the Brainerds and all seem to be indifferent about it. David B. formed short prayers for them to use they were so ignorant of God.

¹ A conch shell, now at 1229 Race street, Philadelphia.

² The Rev. Thomas Brainerd, biographer of John Brainerd.

We have a Sabbath School here numbers about 25 everyone seems to be doing something for a living. It is quite healthy at present considering the unfavorable weather, we have had a very cold spring. Levi Konkapot is in the war, there are more than thirty of our young men in the army some of them will never return to their homes, for some of them are dead. Quite a number of our Stockbridge folks are yet at Stockbridge Austin and Joseph Quinney and families and some others are there, the Agent is about to make a treaty with us I do not know where we shall go next perhaps to Nebraska, but it does not trouble me in the least My greatest trouble is where I shall go when I leave this world. After the Agent treats with us I will write to you again. I am still struggling on my way Zion ward I feel as if I was most to the end of my race I can say the Lord is my shepherd I shall not want. Although my pathway of life has been very rough but the Lord has supported me through fiery trials, he has helped me when sinking in deep waters, he is my present help he is a sure help in the time of trouble, when ever trials and afflictions arise then is the time I want to draw near to my Saviour pray for me and my family that I may hold out to the end pray for my boys that they may give their hearts to God.

From your sincere friend,

Marian Peters.

Keshena, Shawano Co.,

June 20, 1864.

FURTHER NOTICES OF WE-QUAH-A-LAH.

In 1709, when the New Jersey Legislature was contributing men and money toward an expedition against Canada, it was in Council

"Ordered that the Secretary doe write to George Res[carrick] to goe forthwith to Weequehela and acquaint him that his honr Expects his Attendance on this Board Imediately"¹

Four days later, or on June 3, 1709,

"Weequehela the Indian Sachem appeared According to order and Acquainted this Board after a Large Conferance that he would give notice to all the Young men & make what hast he Could to See who would Comply with the Proposall of Going to Canada and when he knew it he would bring word. But if the Lieut Governor should be goon and the Council Dispersed be desired [them] to Leave Word at Georges to whome be must Apply himselfe."²

These extracts indicate the estimation the Governor and Council had of his influence with the Indians.

The New Jersey historian, Samuel Smith, says Weequehela "was an Indian of great note and account both among Christians and Indians, of the tribe that resided about South-river, where he lived with a taste much above the common rank of Indians, having an extensive farm, cattle, horses and negroes, and raised large crops of wheat, and was so far English in his furniture as to have a house well provided with feather beds, calico curtains, &c. He frequently dined with Governors and

¹ N. J. Archives, XIII., 331.

² *Ib.*, 350.

great men, and behaved well ; but his neighbour, captain John Leonard, having purchased a cedar swamp of other Indians, to which he laid claim, and Leonard refusing to take it on his right, he resented it highly, and threatened that he would shoot him ; which he accordingly took an opportunity of doing in the spring 1728, while Leonard was in the day time walking in his garden or near his own house, at South-river aforesaid."¹

The newspapers of the day gave considerable space to the affair, which was evidently regarded by *the whites* as likely to create trouble. A letter from Perth Amboy, dated June 23, 1727, published in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of July 13-20, lays special stress on the attitude of the other Indians in the matter, their view being clearly distorted. Following is the letter,

"*Perth-Amboy, June 23.* This Day was held a Special Court for Trying of *Wequalia*, an *Indian King*, he was found Guilty of the Murder of *John Leonard*, late of this Place, and accordingly received Sentence of Death in the presence of a great number of *Christians*, and about 20 *Indians*, the latter of which were all well pleased at the justness of his Sentence, and says, *That had he had his Deserts, he should have received a Reward like this long ago for the Murdering several of them.* And the Interpreter being (two Days before the Tryal) in Company with three other *Indian Kings*, who were attended by 50 other of their most Principal Men ; The said Interpreter desired to Know of them, What they intended to do for said *Wequalia*, or whether they had any Message to send by him or not, to whom after they had by themselves considered of the Affair, they said, *We have thought of this matter, and desire you will tell Wequalia, That we neither have nor intend to do any thing in this Affair, it is he that has wronged the English, and not Us, and therefore he must himself make them Satisfaction without expecting any Assistance or hearing any more from us ;* which Message the Interpreter faith, fully delivered unto the said *Wequalia* at his Tryal not having an Opportunity to do it sooner, and on Friday next he is to be Executed at this Place, whose wretched Example we hope will deter all his *Indian Spectators* from committing any acts of the like kind."

The *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), of July 6-13, 1727, gives this report of the execution :

"*Perth-Amboy, July 8.* On the 30th of the last Month *Wequalia* (the *Indian King*) was Executed according to Sentence passed against him, for the Murder of Capt. *John Leonard*. And as said *Wequalia* had lived a base Inhuman Life, and Murdered his own Brother and other *Indians* formerly, so he died a hardened and impenitent Wretch, not shewing the least Remorse for any the Actions of his Vile Life ; nor would he own the Murder of said Capt. John Leonard, of which he was Notoriously Convicted, for and deservedly suffer'd Death. He saved us the Labour of Writing his Confession, having made none ; he only bid *Adieu* to the few *Indians* that Attended him to the Gallows, which were only his near Relations, all the other *Indians* refused to shew him the least Re-

¹ Smith's Hist. N. J., 441 note,

gard. When the Sheriff ask'd him, If any of the Ministers should Pray with him before he died? He indifferently Answered, *They might if they would*; and being ask'd which of them? he named Mr. Morgan a Presbyterian Minister, *and that because he was his Neighbor*, which he implied was all the Reason for his Choice. There was a great Concourse of People at the Execution, together with two Companies of the Militia in Arms, in Order to Protect the Sheriff and Officers from any Insult of the Mob or Indians."

The last sentence is not at all consistent with the studious attempt of the writer to make it appear that the Indians were rather pleased than otherwise at the execution of Wequalia.

It may be added here, as a curious coincidence, that in 1711, when John Leonard was sitting in the Monmouth County Court as one of the Justices, "the Sachem, Wequehela, brought the Indian, Welehalely and some others into Court to answer the complaint of Robert Hubbs and others, for shooting at the said Hubbs. After hearing the allegations on both sides, the Court ordered Welehalely's gun to be delivered to him and dismissed complaint on both sides."¹

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Reference has been made in a note on pp. 27-28 to traces of a wooden floor of an Indian house, found at Greenwich, Cumberland County. Two or three fire-places in a row and close together were found in the same place, which leads the Rev. Sequakind Anthony to conclude that these were remains of a village Council house.²

The origin of the word *wigwam* puzzles American philologists. Is it derived from a root signifying the particular kind of tree, the bark of which was most generally used in primitive house-building?³ Or was the name of the house applied to the tree? Did not men build houses before they had distinguishing names for different trees?⁴

The New Jersey Historical Society has a manuscript list of Indian place-names in New Jersey, compiled in 1856 by Mr. Matthew S. Henry, of Philadelphia, from printed maps of the State, with all the errors peculiar to lithography. These names he gave interpretations, almost entirely based on Heckewelder and Zeisberger, and evidently with little or no knowledge of the localities. Some of the meanings are correct; some are plausible, most are worthless. His work, however, is not without value, if only for the list of Indian names of places. His manuscript is in the form of an atlas—maps showing the localities, accompanied by tables of names and their meanings.

¹ Old Times in Old Monmouth, etc., by Edwin Salter and George C. Beekman, Freehold, 1887, 269.

² Essays of an Americanist, 186.

³ Cuqog suggests that *wikwam* is from *wikwas*, "birch bark," because it formerly signified "bark house."

⁴ Prof. A. F. Chamberlain, of Clark College, puts forth this idea. He also suggests the derivation of the word from a primitive radical, *ki*. See his paper on The Language of the Mississauga Indians of Skugog, etc., Philadelphia, 1892, 38.

The earliest Indian conveyance of land in New Jersey of which we have any account is mentioned in a deed dated June 3, 1631, wherein it is set forth that on May 5, 1631, Sawowouwe, Wuoyt, Pemhake, Meko-wetick, Techepewoya, Mathamek, Sacoock, Anehoopoen, Janqueno and Pokahake, "lawful owners, proprietors and inhabitants of the east side of Goddyn's East Bay, called Cape de Maye, for themselves in proportion of their own shares and for all the other owners in regard to their shares of the same land, declared of their own accord and deliberately in their aid and quality, to have transported, ceded and conveyed" a tract four miles square on the east side of Cape May.¹

An illustration of the perversion of Indian place-names is found in the designation of two small contiguous ponds in West Milford township, Passaic County, New Jersey, about twenty-five miles north west of Paterson. These lakelets are called "Duck pond" and "Cedar pond," respectively, although cedars abound near both, and neither has any pre-eminence over the other as a favorite resort of the wild duck. We are thus reminded of the "Duck-Sider" pond or lake described by the Marquis de Chastellux, who would of course pronounce the name "Duck Cedar," which is an easy corruption of Tuxedo, as the name is now written. It is evident that the names "Duck pond," "Cedar pond" and "Tuxedo" are of common origin, given to all three ponds because of similar characteristics or associations. What were they? These bodies of water are situated in a rough, mountain region, formerly abounding with wolves. Moreover, the country was once the seat of the Minsi, or Wolf-tribe of the Lenâp; and to this day the Wolf sub-tribe or sub-gens of the Lenâp is called *Took-seat*.² This would seem sufficiently to explain the origin of the names "Duck pond," "Cedar Pond," and "Duck-Sider" or Tuxedo lake.

¹ N. Y. Col. Docs., XII., 17.

² Travels in North America, in the years 1780, 1781, and 1782, London, 1787, I., 347; French edition, Paris, 1786, I., 286.

³ See p. 87 ante.



AUTHORS AND AUTHORITIES CITED.

- Abbott, Charles C., 7, 8, 24, 30, 33,
34, 76, 99.
Acrelius, Israel, 30, 44, 72, 78, 99,
102.
Amrippa, Henry Cornelius, 50, 51.
Allinson, Samuel, 117, 119.
American Anthropologist, 93.
Antiquarian, 8, 22.
Antiquarian Society, Transac-
tions and Collections of, 18,
91, 95.
Association for the Advance-
ment of Science, Proceed-
ings of, 8, 85, 90, 93.
Colonial Church, Historical
Collections relating to, 72, 78.
Folk-Lore Journal, 42, 60.
Historical Record, 26, 30, 133.
Naturalist, 8.
Philological Association,
Transactions of, 18, 19, 46,
60, 62, 120, 121.
Weekly Mercury, 148.
Anthony, Rev. Albert Seqa-kind,
18, 42, 62, 91, 149.
Anthropological Society of London,
Memoirs of, 12.
Anthropological Society of Wash-
ington, Transactions of, 85.
Argyll, Duke of, 9.
Baldwin, John D., 12.
Barber, John W., 39, 119.
Beatty, Rev. Charles, 73, 79, 115.
Beauchamp, W. M., 14.
Beekman, George C., 149.
Björck, Tobias Eric, 72, 74, 75, 76,
77, 78, 80.
Bliss, Eugene F., 83.
Blome, Richard, 27, 28, 30, 44, 55.
Blount, Robert, 94.
Bollaert, William, 12.
Boston Society of Natural History,
Proceedings of, 8, 9.
Weekly News Letter, 148.
Boudinot, Elias, 6, 115.
Brainerd, David, 49, 73, 75, 76, 77,
79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 115.
Breedon-Raedt, 104.
Brief Account of East-New-Jersey
in America, 32.
Brinton, Daniel G., 8, 11, 12, 13, 14,
15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26, 30,
42, 48, 51, 54, 57, 59, 60, 62,
64, 66, 70, 71, 74, 80, 86, 95, 99,
102, 123, 126, 130.
Budd, Thomas, 31, 84, 92, 93.
Calvin, Bartholomew, 119.
Campanius-Holm, Thomas, 25, 29,
30, 35, 36, 41, 64, 65, 71.
Campbell, Thomas, 56.
Carr, Lucien, 8.
Chamberlain, Albert F., 149.
Chastellux, Marquis de, 150.
Clark, Hyde, 16.
Clay, Rev. Jehu Curtis, 72, 78.
Coates, B. H., 11.
Congrès International des Améri-
canistes, reports of, 63.
Cook, Prof. George H., 23.
Copway, George, 52.
Cranch's U. S. Reports, 114.
Crux Ansata, 16.
Cultus Arborum, 16.
Cuoq, J. A., 58, 80, 127, 131, 149.
Cusick, Albert, 14.
David, 22, 24.
Dankers, Jasper, 70, 111.
Dante, 84.
Davis, W. W. H., 97.
Dawson, Henry B., 37.
De Forest, John W., 91, 92, 127.
De Laet, Jan, 65.
Dencke, Rev. C. F., 62.
Denton, Daniel, 28, 35, 41, 48, 54,
55, 79, 102.
Depue, David A., 114.
De Schweinitz, Edmund, 55, 83, 84,
90.
De Vries, David P., 31, 100, 102.
Dorman, Rushton M., 10, 11, 15, 16,
53, 74, 76, 99.
Douglass, William, 35, 42, 46, 47,
48, 92, 114.
Du Ponceau, Peter S., 25, 62, 68,
121.
Dwight, Sereno Edwards, 49.
East Jersey Deeds, 110, 111, 112.
East Jersey Records, 109, 110.
Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, 49.

- Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery, 108, 111.
Ettwein, Rev. John, 47, 56, 70, 71, 73, 77, 86, 88, 90, 95.
Evelin, Robert, 100.
Faraud, Bishop, 58.
Ferris, Benjamin, 72, 78.
Force, M. F., 22.
Freneau, Philip, 56.
Furman, Gabriel, 35.
Gallatin, Albert, 18, 95.
Gatschet, Albert S., 13.
Gebirol, Solomon Ben Yehudah Ibn, 5.
Geikie, Cunningham, 9.
Gookin, Daniel, 81, 91, 93.
Gordon, Gov. Patrick, 18.
Goudsmit, J. E., 45.
Grants and Concessions, 31.
Green, Rev. William Henry, 9.
Grossi, Dr. Vincenzo, 93.
Gurney, Edmund, 51.
Haeckel, Ernst, 6, 8.
Hale, Horatio, 14, 15, 22, 60, 90.
Hammond, William A., 50.
Haynes, H. W., 8, 9.
Heckewelder, Rev. John, 18, 19, 20, 26, 28, 29, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 54, 55, 69, 70, 74, 82, 86, 95, 96, 98, 99, 114, 120, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130.
Henry, Joseph, 9.
Matthew S., 149.
Hesseliu, Rev. Andrew, 78.
Historical Collections of New Jersey, 39.
Hoffman, W. J., 81, 82.
Holm—see Campanius.
Howe, Henry, 39, 119.
Howse's Cree Grammar, 58.
Indian Interpreter, 27, 30, 133.
Inman, Thomas, 16.
Janney, Samuel M., 79.
Jennings, Hargrave, 16.
Johnson, Guy, 114.
Jones, Rev. Peter, 76, 81, 86.
Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, 52.
Kahkewaquonaby, 76.
Kalm, Peter, 115.
Kemble, —, 45.
Kinsey's Laws, 31.
Kitchi-Gami (see Kohl, J. G.), 83, 93, 94.
Kohl, J. G., 83, 93.
Lacombe, Albert, 17, 50, 51, 58, 131.
Lange, —, 9.
La Tröbe, Christian Ignatius, 18, 25.
Leaming and Spicer, 113.
Lenox, James, 35.
Le Plongeon, August, 16.
Lewis, H. Carvill, 8.
Lindstrom, —, 36, 71.
London, Bishop of, 9.
Long Island Historical Society, Memoirs of, 70.
Loskiel, George Henry, 18, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82, 83, 86, 90, 92, 93, 95, 98, 99, 114, 123.
Mackenzie, Lord, 45.
Magazine of American History, 22, 23, 97, 114.
Maine, Sir Henry Sumner, 45, 93.
Marshall, Chief Justice John, 114.
Mason, Otis T., 93.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections of, 81, 93.
McLennan, J. F., 39, 85.
Meyers, Frederick W. H., 51.
Michelet, J., 50.
Miller, Carrick, 41.
Montanus, Arnoldus, 25, 26, 48.
Montcalm, 38.
Moravian Memorials, 92, 97, 98.
Morgan, Lewis H., 14, 18, 27, 35, 38, 41, 85, 87, 90, 91, 93, 99, 114.
Morse, Rev. Jedidiah, 140.
Müller, F. Max, 15.
Murphy, Henry C., 26, 34, 35, 70.
Mxtoxen, Mr. —, 146.
Myer, Isaac, 6.
Nadaillac, Marquis de, 10.
Nevill, Samuel, 116, 117.
Nevill's Laws, 31.
New Amsterdam, Records of, 37.
Newark Town Records, 109.
New Jersey Archives, 108, 110, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 147.
Historical Collections, 39.
Historical Society, Proceedings of, 117.
New Netherlands, Laws and Ordinances of, 31, 37, 101; Ver-tough (Remonstrance or Representation) of, 35, 36.
New York Colonial Documents, 32, 36, 38, 41, 55, 79, 80, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 109, 110, 111, 120, 150.
New York Documentary History, 25, 32, 35, 40, 79, 89, 90, 101, 103.
New York Historical MSS., Calendar of, 111.
New York Historical Society, Collections of, 29, 31.
O'Callaghan, E. B., 31, 105.
Old New York, 37.

- Palfrey, John Gorham, 36.
 Pastorius, Francis Daniel, 27, 28, 44.
 Peabody Museum, Reports of, 7, 8.
 Penn, William, 26, 28, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 47, 55, 56, 73, 78, 79, 94, 96.
 Pennsylvania Archives, 18, 79, 80, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 114.
 Pennsylvania Colonial Records, 18, 31, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 114, 116, 117, 118.
 Pennsylvania Historical Society :
 Bulletin of, 48.
 Memoirs of, 11, 19, 25, 27, 37, 44, 95.
 Proceedings of, 48.
 Perry, Rev. William Stevens, 72.
 Peters' U. S. Reports, 114.
 Pilling, James Constantine, 61.
 Plantagenet, Beauchamp, 100.
 Popular Science Monthly, 51.
 Powell, J. W., 57, 74, 85, 90, 93.
 Proud, Robert, 44, 94.
 Putnam, F. W., 8, 9.
 Qabbalah, 5.
 Rafinesque, C. S., 20.
 Reichel, Rev. William C., 19, 121.
 Renan, Ernest, 15.
 Reville, Albert, 13, 15, 16.
 Reynolds, William M., 30.
 Robertson, Dr. William, 114.
 Ruttenber, E. M., 109, 111.
 Rydberg, Viktor, 50.
 Salem Town Records, 26, 133.
 Salter, Edwin, 149.
 Schoolcraft, Henry R., 14.
 Scot, George, 28.
 Shea, J. Gilmory, 123.
 Sigourney, Mrs. Lydia H., 120.
 Simmons, Henry P., 129, 130.
 Sluyter, Peter, 70, 111.
 Smith, Mrs. Erminnie A., 69.
 Smith, W. Robertson, 9, 45.
 Smith's History of New Jersey, 27, 31, 84, 92, 100, 111, 117, 118, 147-8.
 Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 14.
 Smithsonian Institution, Reports of, 9.
 Society for Psychical Research, Proceedings of, 51.
 Spencer, Herbert, 85.
 Sprague, Charles, 5, 112.
 Stockwell, G. Archie, 51.
 Taney, Chief Justice Roger, 114.
 Tennent, Rev. William, 141.
 Thomas, Cyrus, 22, 23.
 Gabriel, 27, 29, 41, 44, 47, 55, 56, 64, 65, 78.
 Trumbull, H. Clay, 45.
 J. Hammond, 18, 60, 68, 121, 126, 132, 133.
 U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Reports of, 8, 13, 22, 27, 36, 38, 41, 57, 69, 74, 81, 90, 99, 140.
 Usher, Archbishop, 9.
 Valentine's Manual, 96.
 Van der Donck, Adriaen, 29, 30, 31, 35, 46, 54, 55, 75, 79.
 Vattel's Law of Nations, 114.
 Vertooch (Remonstrance or Representation) of New Netherlands, 35, 36.
 Wake, C. Staniland, 16.
 Walam Olum, 20, 22, 96.
 Wassenauer, —, 25, 27, 28, 29, 39, 40, 45, 47, 53, 54, 55, 74, 79, 80, 90.
 Watson, John F., 97.
 Westropp, Hodder M., 16.
 Whitehead, William A., 29.
 Whipple, Lieut. —, 64, 65.
 Whitney, J. D., 8.
 William Dwight, 59, 60.
 Williams, Roger, 17, 26, 28, 30, 35, 36, 47, 50, 52, 55, 76, 78, 84.
 Wolley, Charles, 25, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 48, 54, 55, 101.
 Wright, George F., 8, 9.
 York, Duke of, 31.
 Zeisberger, David, 25, 26, 29, 30, 42, 46, 48, 55, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 80, 83, 84, 86, 88, 91, 93, 95.
 Zohar, The, 5.

INDEX.

A

- Abbott, Dr. Charles C., collection of palæolithic and neolithic implements of, 33.
 Achkinkeshaky, Indian word for Hackensack, 106.
 Achter Col village, murder committed by Indians from, 103.
 Ackitoauw, deed for site of Jersey City signed by, 102.
 Acquackanonk, 132; meaning of, 123; various spellings of, 122 note.
 Adoption of captives, 46 note.
 Ahasimus, or Aressick, Indian name for Jersey City, 102; Indians of, 105.
 Aiarouw, deed for site of Jersey City signed by, 102.
 Algonkin, meaning of, 17; linguistic family, 57; dictionary, 58; languages, resemblances of, 58; synthesis, 121; tribe, 17, 57; bibliography of, 61; population of, 57.
 Allumapees, Allomabi, or Alomipas, King of the Delaware Indians, 92, 97.
 Ancocus Indians, claim of, 98.
 Anehoopoen, grantor in first Indian deed for New Jersey, 150.
 Appoquiminick, church at, 72.
 Aquaywochtu, at Easton conference, 118.
 Architecture of the Indians, 17.
 Arromeauw, deed signed by, 102.
 Atorickan, a Saddle River Sachem, 110.
 Arrow head, 8; material of, 33.
 Asacki, land near Lodi so called, 123.
 Asomoches, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 100.
 Assenmaykapuck, "place of the Big Rock," 123; Assenmaykapulig, "pure Big Rock spring," 123.
 Astronomy of the Red Man, 12.
 slight knowledge of among Indians, 47.
 Ax, none found in Trenton gravel, 8.
 Axion, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 100.
 Ayamanngh (a squaw), deed from, 111.
 Aztecs, 16.

B

- Bad folks, definition of, 74.
 Bags, how made, 34; Indian word for, 34.
 Bark Record, 20.
 Barrenach, a Newesingh Sachem, 101, 102.
 Beads, how made, 34, 35; use of, 35.
 Beautiful Head, Lenape chief, 21.
 Beds, of reeds, grass or leaves, 27, 28.
 Bernard, Gov. Francis, 118.
 Bethel, Indian church at, 115, 116.
 Big Medicine Lodge, initiation into, 81.
 Big Rock, 123; Indian deed for land near, 110; Indian name for, 124.
 Big Snake Doctor, methods of, 53.
 Biörck, Erick, 78; sketch of, 72 note.
 Block house, proposed erection of near Achkinkeshaky, 106.
 Blood covenant among the Indians, 45 note.
 Bloomfield, Indian name for country near, 132.
 Bogt or Bend, 131.
 Bound Creek, Indian name for, 132.
 Boundaries between nations and tribes, 114.
 Bow and arrow, skill of Indian children with, 32.
 Boys, initiation of into societies, 81; training and initiation of, 42.
 Braddock's defeat, 97, 116.
 Brainerd, David, missionary to the Lenape, 115, 141, 144, 145.
 John, superintendent of Brotherton Indians, 118, 141; letter from, 143, 145, 146.

- Brainerd, Rev. Thomas, 146.
 Bridgeton (Mount Holly), 143.
 Brotherton, 118, 143.
 Brotherton Indians, 118, 119, 140.
 Brush-net, 42.
 Burials, method of, 54, 55.
- Burlington, conference at, 95, 117;
 treaty, 118.
 Burning meadows, 32.
 Burying grounds, reverence for,
 55, 129.
- C
- Cacanakque, Hackensack Indian,
 109.
 Calcefar, sub-tribe of the Lenape,
 100.
 Calvin, Bartholomew S., letter of,
 119.
 Stephen, 119.
 Camoins, Hackensack Indian, 102.
 Campgaw, 124.
 Canada, expedition against, 147.
 Canoes, how made, 28, 34, 42; In-
 dian word for, 42.
 Cantagua, 124.
 Cantagua's Creek, 132.
 Cape May, deed for lands at, 150.
 Capeteham, Sachem of Hackensack
 Indians, 110.
 Captain, duties of, 89, 90.
 Captamin, Peter, Hackensack In-
 dian, 109; see Capeteham.
 Caribou in New Jersey, 7.
 Carstangh, Karstangh, a Hacken-
 sack chief, 106, 107, 108.
 Carteret, Gov. Philip, 110; letters
 from to Oratamy, 108.
 Sir George, owner of East New
 Jersey, 113.
 Cattaraugus, N. Y., Delaware In-
 dians at, 140.
 Cedar pond, 150.
 Central America: development of
 religion in, 13; nations of, 16;
 symbols of religion of, 16;
 origin of civilization in, 12.
 Centeol, Goddess of Agriculture,
 16.
 Ceremonial dance, 71, 72, 76, 77,
 80.
 Charles II., grant of New Jersey
 from, 113.
 Charles, Moses, 146.
 Darius, 146.
 Charms, 76.
 Chehohocke Indians, at Easton
 conference, 118.
 Cherokee, 20, 22, 140; traditions of,
 23.
 Chicago, Indian town near, 140.
 Chiefs: authority of undermined,
 94; duties of, 89, 90; execu-
 tive functions vested in, 93;
 how chosen, 88.
 Children, belong to mother's gens,
 91; follow mother in case of
 divorce, 40; how cared for, 41;
 skill of with bow and arrow,
 32.
- Christina, Del., 72, 78.
 Civilization, parallel development
 of, 6.
 Clairvoyants among the Indians,
 51.
 Claverack, 124.
 Cloth, how made, 34.
 Communipaw, 105; meaning of,
 124; trading post of the
 Hackensack Indians, 103.
 Conferences, important feature of,
 98.
 at Burlington, 95, 117.
 Crosswicks, 98, 116, 117.
 Easton, 95, 98, 117, 119.
 Fort Stanwix, 120.
 Wapcommehhoke, 140.
 Cooking, manner of, 29.
 Copper implements, 33.
 Corn Breaker, name of Sakima, 21.
 Corn fields of the Indians, ravaged
 by the whites, 103.
 Corn, planted by the women, 28.
 Council, Indian, 43; a breach of its
 mandates punishable with
 death, 94; decision of, bind-
 ing, 94; how composed, 93;
 legislature and court, 93;
 method of procedure in, 94.
 Council bags, keeping of, 89.
 Council Fire, 94, 95.
 Council House, 89, 149.
 Courtship, 40; advantages over
 white man's manner of, 40
 note.
 Covenant chain, 95.
 Covetousness unknown among the
 Indians, 44.
 Cow, Indian word for, 59.
 Cradles, 41.
 Cranbury, congregation of Indians
 at, 115, 116, 141; claim of
 Indians living at, 98.
 Cree Indians, language of, 19, 58;
 dictionary of, 61.
 Crime, how punished, 45, 93.
 Cross, figure of carved on build-
 ings, 15.
 Crosswicks, conference at, 98, 116,
 117; Indian title to lands at,
 115; meaning of, 115, 124;
 mission at, 115; treaty of,
 117.
 Crosswicks Indians, claim of, 98.
 Currency, beads used as, 35.
 Customs, social and religious, 17,
 25.

D

- Dances, ceremonial, 28, 71, 72, 76, 77; sacrificial, 77, 78; snake, 19.
 Dans Kammer, dancing hall, 103.
 Death, idea of natural unknown, 54; how spoken of, 55.
 Deer's Leap, point of rocks near Passaic Falls called, 43.
 Delaware Indians, called "women," 95; council of with Moheakunnunk nation, 143; in Kansas, 64, 87, 140; New Jersey tribes so called, 18; number of, 57, 140; represented at Easton conference, 118.
 Deluge myth, 71.
 Descent in the female line, 88, 91.
 Detroit river, crossed by the Lenape tribe during their migrations, 22.
 Devil, placating the, 75.
 Dictionaries—Algonkin, 58; Cree, 58; Lenape, 63; Klamath, 62; Onondaga, 62.
 Diseases, causes of, 48; treatment of, 47, 48.
 Dislocations, how reduced, 53.
 Diver, myth of, 70.
 Divorce, 40.
 Dobbs' Ferry, N. Y., Raritan Indians near, 100.
 Doctor or medicine-man, 51, 52, 53.
 Dolichocephalic man in America, 10.
 Drunken men, called fools by the Indians, 31.
 Drunkenness, no Indian word for, 31.
 Duck creek, 146.
 pond, 150.
 Duck-Sider pond, 150.
 Dundee dam, 122, 125.

E

- East, veneration for the, 71, 72.
 Easton, conference at, 95, 98, 117, 119; treaty of, 111.
 Eating customs, 29.
 Egohowen, at Easton conference, 118.
 Egypt, pyramids of, 16.
 Egyptian sculpture, asp used in, 16.
 Elizabeth, N. J., 132; boundary line of, 102; site of bought from Indians, 113.
 Emphasis in the Lenape language, 64.
 English title to New Jersey, 114 note.
 Eriwoneck, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 100.
 Esopus Indians, 102, 111; peace concluded with, 106, 108; war with, 107.
 Eskimos perhaps in New Jersey, 7, 8.
 Espatingh or Ispatingh, land near Union Hill called, 124.
 Ethical compulsion, 93.
 Ethics unknown, 84.
 Evesham township, 117; Indian reservation at, 118.

F

- Family, the Indian, 27; development of, 85.
 Feast days, 79.
 Finns, Finians, or Fenians, origin of, 8.
 Fire, veneration of, 71, 73; first parent of Indian nations, 72.
 First-fruits sacrifice, 78.
 First Mountain, 102.
 Fishing, 26; manner of, 42.
 Flood myth, 70.
 Fools unknown among the Indians, 113.
 Fort Stanwix, council at, 120.
 Franklin, Gov. William, name given to by Indians, 120.
 Friends in West Jersey, 116.
 Future life, Indian's belief in, 73.

G

- Games, different kinds of, 43.
 Gamoenipa—see Communipaw.
 Garret Mountain, arrow heads found at, 33.
 Generosity of the Indians, 28, 29.
 Gens—Germanic, Greek, Indian, Jewish, and Roman, 85.
 Girls, training of, 44.
 Goddyn's East Bay, 150.
 Goffle, meaning of, 124.
 Government, Indian system of, 84, 85.
 Grammar, Cree, 58; Lenape, 62.
 Grammatical construction of the Lenape language, 62, 63, 65, 66.
 Great Light, 15.
 Rabbit, 15.
 White One, 15.
 Green Bay, Wis., New Jersey Indians removed to, 119, 140.
 Green-corn dance, 77.
 Greenwich, Indian council house at, 149.
 Grooved ax, 8.

H

- Hackensack, 124; meaning of, 124; trading post of the Indians, 103.
 Hackensack Indians, 105, 111, 130; sketch of, 102; sub-tribe of the Lenape, 102; Cacanakque, 109; Camoins, 102; Captamin, Peter, 109; Hairish, 109; Mawumstome, 109; Napeam, 109; Perawal, 109; Sessom, 109; Wamesane, 109; Wapamuck, 109; Wecaprokikan, 109.
 Hackensack meadows, 125, 128; yearly burning of, 103.
 Hackensack river, 124, 132.
 Hair, how worn by the Indians, 25.
 Hairish, Hackensack Indian, 109.
 Hamahem, Sachem of Hackensack, 110.
 Hans, story of the creation as told by, 70; to be chief of the Hackensack tribe, 108.
 Harcop, —, 116.
 Harteberg or Deer mountain, 127.
 Hatchet, used as a sign of peace, 90.
 Herbs, knowledge and use of, 48.
 Hesselius, Andrew, 72, 78.
 Hiawatha, Song of, 14; meaning and pronunciation of, 14.
 Hindoo myths, 69.
 "Hobocan Hacking," conveyance of by the Indians, 102.
 Hoboken, meaning of, 124.
 Hohokus, meaning of, 124.
 Homicide, how atoned for, 45, 101.
 Honesty of the Indians, 44.
 Horse, Indian word for, 59.
 Horse neck, a stony place, 125.
 Hospitality of the Indians, 28, 29.
 House life of the aborigines, 27.
 Housewifery of the Indians, 103.
 Hubbs, Robert, shot at by an Indian, 149.
 Hudson river, 102.
 Hunters, 28, 31, 32.
 Hunting, 26, 42, 103.
 Hunting or Deer sacrifice, 78.
 Huron tribe, 22.
 Hyperboreans, origin of, 8.

I

- Iaiapogh, Iaoapogh, Sachem of the Minisink Indians, 112, 133.
 Ice sheet in New Jersey, 7.
 Immaculate conception, 15.
 Implements, material and manufacture of, 33.
 Incorporation in American languages, 59.
 Indian claim to New Jersey, 117.
 corn, see maize.
 cornfields, ravaged by the whites, 103.
 deed, first for land in New Jersey, 150.
 gens, 85.
 "Indian giver," explanation of phrase, 98.
 "Indian Interpreter," 133-139.
 Indian paths or highways, 114.
 mission at Cranbury, in 1756, 141; at Brotherton, in 1775, 143.
 Indian Place Names, 111, 120.
 reservations in New Jersey, 116, 117, 119, 120; sale of, 119.
 title to New Jersey, bought from the natives, 118.
 title to the soil, a nullity, 113; how extinguished, 112; legislation about, 113; recognized by the Dutch, 112.
 Indian war of 1643, 104; of 1655, 105; of 1755, 116.
 Indigenous origin of American culture, religion and agriculture, 11.
 Initiation of boys, 81.
 Iron, Indian word for, 130.
 Iroquois Confederation of Five Nations, 14, 18.
 Iroquois Indians, government of, 90.

J

- Janqueno, grantor of land in 1631, 150.
 Jasper or Tantaque, story of the creation as told by, 69, 70.
 Jersey City, deed from Indians for site of, 102.
 Jessakid, "revealer of hidden truths," 81, 83.
 Justice, Indian code of, 45.

K

- Kabibonokka, north wind, 15.
 Kabun, west wind, 15.
 Kankis, bread used at Hunting Sacrifice, 78.
 Kannaka, a pious ejaculation, 71, 72, 78.
 Kansas, Delaware Indians in, 140, 144, 146; Lenape tribes in, 87.

- Karstangh, Hackensack chief, 106, 107, 108.
 Kechemeches, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 100.
 Keeping Guard, name of Sakima, 21.
 Kenon, word used at a Kinticoy, 80.
 Keshena, Kans., letter from, 147.
 Keyon, John, 116.
 Ki, a primitive radical, 149.
 Kickeron, origin of all, 70.
 Kid, Captain, pirates of, 103.
 Kil van Kol, 107.
 K-mochwe, witchcraft of, 83.
 Kinderkimack, meaning of, 125.
 Kinte kaye, death dance and song, 79.
 Kinticka, a festive gathering, 79, 103; description of, 79, 80.
 Kitzinacka, medicine man or Big Snake doctor, 80, 81; methods of, 53.
 Klamath language, 13; dictionary of the, 62.
 Knatsciosan, Dutchman assaulted by, 110.
 Konkapot, Levi, 147.
 Koutsinacka, or Devil Hunter, 80.
 Krakeel val, noisy stream, Dutch name for Oldham Brook, 125.

L

- Labrador, Lenape Indians at, 22.
 Lake Dwellers of Switzerland, their manner of boring holes in stones, 33.
 Lake Ontario, Lenape Indians settled near, 22.
 Lake Passaic, 10.
 Languages, American, bibliography of, 59, 61, 62; importance of the study of, 59, 60, 61; literature of, 57, 59, 61, 62; number of, 57; similarity of, 59.
 Language of the Indians, 13.
 Laometung, Falls of, 118.
 Legends of the Indians, 13.
 Lemuria, supposed continent in Indian Ocean so called, 8.
 Lenape, pronunciation and meaning of, 18.
 Lenape language, 61, 62; dictionaries of, 62; emphasis in, 64; grammars of, 62; no longer pure, 65; permanence of, 139; specimens of, 62, 63, 66, 67.
 Lenape tribe—in Kansas, 87, 144; literature of the, 61, 62; migrations of, 20, 23, 119, 140; mission to the, 115; myths of, 69, 70; origin of, 19; sub-tribes or gentes of, 86, 100, 101, 102; settlement of in New Jersey, 20, 23, 24; their physique, 24.
 Leonard, Capt. John, 144, 145, 148, 149.
 Light, myth of, 14, 70, 71; veneration for, 71.
 Ling-yoni of India, 16.
 Liquor, fondness of Indians for, 31; legislation against traffic in with Indians, 31; sale of to Indians, 103, 106.
 Lodi, Indian deed for land near, 110.
 Long houses not used in New Jersey, 26.
 Long Island sound, Wapping Indians living near, 111.
 Lord's Prayer in Minsi dialect, 67, 68.
 Love, conception of in American languages, 13.
 Love-philtres, 40.
 Lunatics, unknown among the Indians, 113.

M

- Macopin, meaning of, 125.
 Maggagtayak, land on Passaic river called, 125.
 Magic, different kinds of, 83; use of, 49, 50.
 Mahwah, or Maa away, field in Ramapo Valley, named, 125.
 Mainating, name of a hill in Ramapo Valley, 125.
 Maize, cultivation of, 103, 114; how preserved, 32; Indian name for, 29; various dishes prepared from, 29, 30.
 Mamostome, Hackensack Indian, 109.
 Mandenark, Sakamaker of the Hackensack Indians, 110.
 Mangcum, name of a river, 125.
 Manibozho, legend of, 14.
 Manito, 81; a charm, 76; Indian conception of, 76; meaning of, 72, 74, 80.
 Manners of the Indians, 13.
 Manoky, Sakamaker of the Hackensacks, 110.
 Manteses, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 100.
 Maracksi, name of a pond near Pompton, 125.
 Marriage customs, 39, 40; exogamy the rule, 39; foundation of social and governmental organization, 85.
 Marsh, Rev. —, 144.

- Mashkikikewimini, medicine-men, 81.
 Maskainapulig, deed from, 111.
 Massacre of the Indians by the Dutch, 104.
 Mastodon in New Jersey, 7.
 Matanoo, chief of the Newesingh Indians, 101, 102.
 Mathawek, deed from, 150.
 Matriarchal influence, Indians held in check by, 92.
 Matriarchal rule, a survival of, 91.
 Matskath, deed from, 102.
 Mattano or Metano, chief of the Nyack Indians, 91, 108; empowered to seize all liquor offered for sale to Indians, 106.
 Mattapassigan, charm for producing epidemics, 83.
 Maya nation, 16; myths of, 60.
 Mechat, chief of the Newesingh Indians, 101, 102.
 Medicine man, 51, 81; burial of, 55; feats and tricks of, 51, 52 note.
 Medicines, how applied, 47, 48; preparation of, 48, 51, 52.
 Mekowetick, deed from, 150.
 Memerscum, Sachem of Indians on Remopuck river, 111.
 Men, hunters, 28, 31, 32.
 Menarhohondoo, chief of the Newesingh Indians, 102.
 Menehenicke, Indian name for island in the Passaic river, 125.
 Mengwe tribe, 19; Lenape name for the Iroquois, 19 note.
 Mesmerists among the Indians, 51.
 Messengers, Indian, 32.
 Meteu or Medeu, medicine man, 81; methods of, 51, 52.
 Mexico, civilization of, 6, 7, 12; pyramidal teocalis of, 16.
 Michabo, legend of, 14, 15.
 Michi, meaning of, 15.
 Micmacs, 29.
 Mide, medicine-man, priest or prophet, 81.
 Midewewin or Grand Medicine Society, 81 note.
 Migration legends of the Lenape, 19, 20, 23, 119.
 Migrations of the New Jersey Indians, 140, 146.
 Mine, contractions of, 62, 63.
 Minisink country, 110.
 Minisink, 115.
 Minisink, Munsee, Minsi or Wolf tribe, 86, 87, 97, 112, 140, 150; at Burlington, 95; at Easton conference, 118; called women, 95; chiefs of, 107; myths of, 70; number of, 57, 140.
 Minsi dialect, 64, 132; comparison of with Unami dialect, 139; Lord's Prayer in, 67, 68.
 Tribe, location of, 150.
 Mississaga Indians, 149.
 Missions among the Lenape, 115, 141.
 Modoc language, 13.
 Mogquack, deed signed by, 110.
 Moheakunnunk nation, council of with Delaware Indians, 140.
 Mohegan or Mauhekunnak tribe, 22, 87, 119, 140.
 Momaugin, chief of the Quinipacs, 92.
 Mongols, origin of, 8.
 Months, Indian names for, 46.
 Moonachie, land in Bergen county, 125.
 Moose in New Jersey, 7.
 Morgan, Rev. Joseph, 149.
 Morris county, 130.
 Morris, Robert Hunter, Indian title attacked by, 115.
 Mosilian, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 100.
 Mosquitos, protection against, 25.
 Mound builders, 7; who were they, 22.
 Mounds, none built in New Jersey, 24.
 "Mountain" Indians, claim of, 98.
 "Much talk and no cider," 115 note.
 Musk-ox in New Jersey, 7.
 Myths of the Indians, 13, 17; of the creation, 69; of the turtle, 69, 70.
 N
 Names not spoken, 41; of Sachems, 91; when given, 41.
 Nanticoke Indians, 140.
 Napean, Hackensack Indian, 109.
 Narashunk, a tributary of the Ramapo river, 125.
 Naraticons, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 102.
 Narraganset tribe, squaw-sachem of, 92.
 Needles, Indian, 34.
 Neolithic period, implements of, 9; Dr. Abbott's collection of, 33.
 Neshaminy, Indian deed for land near, 96.
 Newark, 132; boundary line of, 102; Indian deed for, 109, 110; site of, 107, 108; purchased from the Indians, 113.
 New Barbadoes Neck, site of bought from Indians, 113.

- Newesingshs, chiefs of, 101; sub-
tribe of the Lenape, 101.
New Jersey, grant of from King
Charles II., 113; Indian claim
to, 117; title of bought from
the Indians, 118.
New Jersey Association for help-
ing the Indians, 116.
New Stockbridge, Mohegan tribe
settled at, 119.
Lenape at, 146.

O

- Ockanickon, 97; dying speech of,
84, 92.
Ohio, Lenape at, 146.
Oldham Brook, Dutch name for,
125.
Olompis or Olumpies, King of the
Delawares, sketch of, 97.
Oneida Lake, Brotherton Indians
settled near, 140.
Mohegan Indians, settled near,
119.
Onondaga Dictionary, 62; Indians,
140.
Opings, see Wapping Indians.
Oratamy, Sachem of the Hacken-
sack Indians, 92, 111; char-
acter of, 107; empowered to
seize all liquor offered for
sale to the Indians, 106; his
"castle," 108; speeches of,
107, 108; treaty of peace
signed by, 104, 105, 106.
Origin of mankind, 5, 6.
Origin of New Jersey Indians, 7, 8,
9.
Ornaments, fondness of Indians
for, 34; how made, 34.
Ouz-zeech, Sachem of Newesingh
Indians, 101.
Oysters, caught by the Indians, 28.

P

- Pachem, "a crafty man," 104;
treaty of peace signed by,
105.
Painting of bodies and faces, 25.
Paints, how obtained, 25.
Pajpemoor, chief of the Newes-
ingshs, 102.
Palæolithic implements found in
New Jersey, 7, 8, 9; Dr. Ab-
bot's collection of, 33.
Palæolithic man in Europe, 8.
Pamaraquemq, a tributary of the
Pequannock river, 125.
Pammaikaipuka, or Big Rock, 124.
Pamrapo, or Pemmerpough, mean-
ing of, 125.
Paoqualin mountain, 118.
Parable of the marriage feast in the
Unami dialect, 66, 67.
Parampseapus, Indian name for
Saddle river, 123, 125.
Paramus, Parhamus or Perrymus,
126; meaning of, 125.
Pasachynom, chief of the Newes-
ingshs, 102.
Pascack, Pasqueck, 126.
Passaic, meaning of, 126; various
spellings of, 126 note.
Passaic Falls, 10, 130.
Lake, 10.
Patriarchal influence upon Indians,
92.
Pavonia, attacked by the Indians,
105; prisoners traded by the
Indians at, 106.
New Sweden, missionaries to, 72.
Ni, I or mine, 62; contractions of,
62, 63.
Niagara Falls, 10.
Nimhaon, at Easton conference,
118.
Number of Indians in New Jersey
in 1758, 118.
Number of Lenape in 1885, 140.
Numerals, Indian, 65.

- Piewechechenoes, alias Hans, 102.
 Pipe, Indian name for, 30; material of, 30.
 Place names, 111, 120; characteristics of, 121, 122; in South Jersey, 122; near New York, 122; repeated in different localities, 121; works on, 120, 121.
 Pocasset, squaw-sachem of, 92.
 Poison for blighted affections, 40.
 Pokahake, deed from, 150.
 Pokenchelah, head warrior of Delaware tribe, 140.
 Polygamy not general, 41.
 Polygeny among the Indians, 85.
 Polyandry among the Indians, 85.
 Pompton or Pibmtom, 111, 116, 124; meaning of, 127.
 Indians, 117, 130, 140; mentioned in Easton treaty, 111; represented at Easton conference, 118; Sachems of, 112; sketch of, 111.
 and Pequannock Indians: Mansiem, 112; Neskilantit, 112; Onageponk, 112; Oragnap, 112; Paakek Siekaak, 112; Tapgan, 112; Waweia-gin, 112; Wickwam Rookham, 112.
 Pottery, 17; how made, 33; ornamentation of, 33.
 Powaws, account of, 49, 50; clairvoyants or conjurers, 76, 81.
 Prayers, 11.
 Preakness, or Parikenis, meaning of, 127.
 Pre-existent state, Indian idea of, 49.
 Pre-glacial men, descendants of, 8, 9.
 Present enjoyment, delight in, 74.
 Presents, exchange of, 98.
 Primitive races in America, 10.
 Prisoners, humane treatment of by Indians, 106.
 Property, the Indians respecters of, 28.
 Proprietors of New Jersey, 115; Indian title purchased by, 113.
 Prudence of the Indians, 32.
 Purses, how made, 35.
 Pyramids of Egypt, 16.
 Pyramidal teocallis of Mexico, 16.

Q

- Quenameckquid, alias Charles, deed from, 96.
 Quinney, Austin, 147.
 Joseph, 147.

R

- Rahway, Rawack, meaning of, 127.
 Raikghawaik, a creek, 127.
 Ramapo, Remopuck, meaning of, 127.
 Valley, 125.
 Ramapoo Indians, a Connecticut tribe, 127.
 Ramcock, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 100.
 Raritan river, land on purchased from Indians, 113, 118.
 Raritanoo tribe, 94, 102; claim of, 98; country of sold twice, 101; reward for heads of, 101; sketch of, 100.
 Rattlesnake flesh and skin used as a medicine, 53.
 Rawantaque Indians, deed from, 111.
 Rechgawawanc (Sleepy Hollow), Indians of, 104.
 Registration of Indians required, 116.
 Reindeer in New Jersey, 7.
 Religion of the Indians, 69; development of in Central America, 13; indigenous origin of, 11.
 Religion of nature, 84.
 Religious tolerance of the Indians, 83, 84.
 Remopuck river, 111.
 Republic, first in America, 14.
 Rerakanes, Indian name for Saddle river, 128.
 Rescarrick, George, 147.
 Restitution and retaliation, principle of among Indians, 45.
 Revenge, cruelty of, 45.
 Rhetorical figures, 94.
 Rockaway river, 128.
 Roots, knowledge and use of, 48.
 Rope, how made, 34.
 Round towers of Ireland, 16.
 Runners, swiftness of, 32.

S

- Sachem or Sakima, chief, 21; allowed to name his successor, 92; his choice not always ratified, 92; executive functions vested in, 93; how chosen, 88, 91; how deposed or office vacated, 91; influence of, 91; list of, 21; name of, 91; squaw-sachems, 92.
 Sackwomeck, deed signed by, 102.
 Sacook, deed from, 150.
 Sacrifice, how conducted, 73.

- Sacrificial dances, 77, 78.
 Saddle River, 128, 132.
 tract, Indian deed for, 110; Indian name for, 122.
 Sagorighweyogsta, Gov. Franklin so called, 120.
 Sandusky, Ohio, Delaware Indians at, 140.
 Sandy Hook, 118.
 Sanhikans, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 102; language of, 65.
 Sassoonan, King of the Delawares, 92; meaning of the name, 92; sketch of, 97.
 Sawowouwe, deed from, 150.
 Scheyechbi, 140; missions for the Indians in, 115; New Jersey called, 18, 19, 24.
 Secaucus, meaning of, 128.
 Secret societies among the Indians, 42, 81.
 Sehopp, chosen to be chief, 92.
 Seneca Indians, 95, 140.
 Serpent, as a remedy for diseases and wounds, 53; worship of, 80.
 Sessom, Hackensack Indian, 109.
 Shakatawlin, killed for favoring the whites, 92.
 Shaman, medicine man, priest or prophet, 81; description of, 82, 83.
 Shaumpishuh, squaw sachem of Guilford, Conn., 92.
 Shawano, church at, 146.
 Shawans, the south wind, 15.
 Sheekokonickan, King of the Delawares, sketch of, 97.
 Shekomeko, burying ground in New York, 129.
 Shell heaps along New Jersey shore, 23.
 Shells, how utilized, 34.
 Sickenanes, an Algonkin tribe, 80.
 Sicomac, Schickamack, meaning of, 129.
 Sikonessas, sub-tribe of the Lenape, 100.
 Silos of the Indians, 32.
 Sin not recognized among Indians, 45.
 Singac, meaning of, 129.
 Sintsinck, Indians of, 104.
 Sipham, deed from, 111.
 Six Nations, 140; King of, 98.
 Skin, how treated, 25.
 Skins of animals, how dressed, 32.
 Slangenber, or Snake Hill, 128.
 Slank, the back water from a freshet, or river, 129.
 "Sleeps," time counted by, 46.
 Slinker Val, the left hand brook, 129, 130.
 Slooderdam, 123, 125, 128.
 Smoking, feast days concluded by, 79.
 Snake bites, how cured, 48, 53; dance, 16; Hill, 128; people, 22.
 Snow Bird, name of Sachem, 21.
 Soapstone pots, ornamentation of, 33.
 Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 115, 141.
 Society of the Mide or Shamans, 81 note.
 Song of Hiawatha, 14.
 South, abode of the good, 73.
 Southern Indians, claim of, 98.
 Spirits, good and evil, 75.
 Squaw-sachem, of Guilford, Conn., 92; of Narraganset, 92; of Pocasset, 92.
 Staten Island, attacked by the Indians, 100, 105; Sachem of, 109.
 Stemmed scraper, 8.
 St. Lawrence, Lenape at, 22.
 Stockbridge, 146.
 Stole, priest's, 16.
 Stone Age, 11.
 Stone implements, 17.
 Stonehenge, Druid circles at, 16.
 Succasunna, meaning of, 130.
 Sun, veneration of, 71, 84.
 Suppaen, bread, 103.
 Surgery of the Indians, 53, 54.
 Swannekins, Indian name for the Dutch, 105.
 Swanpis, chosen to be chief, 92.
 Sweat bath, 48.
 Sycakeska, chief of the Newesingh Indians, 102.

T

- Tachis, hopnuts, 78.
 Tallieu or Talega, war with, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.
 Tally-Maker, name of Sakima, 21.
 Tamanend or Tamee, deed from, 95, 96; sketch of, 95-96.
 Tammany Society, 96.
 Tantaqua, Tantequa, Sachem of the Hackensacks, 110, 132.
 Ta-oun-ya-wa-tha, legend of, 13.
 Taphome, deed from, 111.
 Tappan Indians, 102, 104, 111.
 Tatepahqsect, Sachem of the Delawares, 140.
 Tattooing, 99.
 Techepewoya, deed from, 150.
 Teedyescung, Sachem of the Delawares, 94, 116; sketch of, 97, 98; speech of, 117, 118.
 Tekwappo, deed signed by, 102.
 Ten tribes of Israel, as the originals of the American Indians, 6.

- Thahutooweelent, Sachem of the Delawares, 140.
Thames, Ontario, 140.
Third River, Indian name for, 132.
Kinte Kaey held at, 103.
Time, divisions of, 46.
Tinne language, 58.
Tippecanoe, 126.
Tobacco, Indian word for, 30; used as an offering, 73, 78.
Tomahawk, Indian name for, 42.
Took-seat, 150.
Tort, a sin, 45 note.
Tortoise myth, 70, 86, 87.
shell, used as a spoon, 78; used as a rattle, 82.
Tribe, 86; chief tribe, 88; why preferred, 71.
Totem, definition of, 99.
- Totowa, Totowaw, Totua, meaning of, 130.
Treat, Col. Robert, affidavit of, 109.
Tribal ownership of land, 114.
Trenton, 97.
Trenton gravel, discoveries in, 7, 8.
Trephining, 53.
Tsalaki or Cherokees, 20.
Turkey tribe, 86, 87, 140; sub-tribes of, 88; totem of, 99.
Turtle clan, 69.
Turtle, myths of the, 69, 70.
Turtle tribe, sub-tribes of, 87; totem of, 99.
Twelve, a mystic number, 73; curious use of the number, 48.
Tuxedo, meaning of, 150.

U

- Unalachtigo, or Turkey tribe, 86.
Unami dialect, 64; comparison of with Minsi dialect, 139; parable of the marriage feast in, 66, 67.
Unami or Tortoise tribe, 86; re-
- presented at Easton conference, 118; totem of, 102.
Uncas, a Connecticut Sachem, 91.
Unity of the human race, 17.
Usher's Chronology, 9.

V

- Van Winkle, Rip, 103.
Virgin Mother, 15.
Vocabulary:¹
Abenakis or Abenakis, Eastlanders, 17.
acawmenoakit, from the land on the other side, 17.
achgook, snake, 46, 53, 124, 128.
achhallop, wild hemp, 42.
Achkinkeshaky, Hackensack, 106.
ach-poan, bread, 29.
ach-quoa-k-ban-onk, a place in a rapid stream where fishing is done with a bush-net, 123.
ach-quoa-ni-can, a bush-net, 123.
achsin, achsun or assin, stone, 123, 125, 130, 132.
agomeegwin, people of the other shore, 17.
Ahasimus or aressick, Jersey City, 102.
ahoalan, to love, 66.
aki, land or place, 123, 125, 128, 131.
allunth, arrow, 42.
aman, fish hook, 42.
amatschipuis, a turkey buzzard, 125.
amochol, canoe, 42.
amochol-he, canoe wood, 42.
anixi, January or Squirrel month, 46.
apech'lit, war club, 43.
- Vocabulary:
apenaki, Eastlanders, 17.
appooke, pipe, 30.
aptunwoagan, "the covenant," 43.
ask or aski, green, 29.
as-poan, bread, 30.
assan-hican, a stone implement, 102.
assin, a stone, 123, 125, 130, 132.
awauchkon, bait, 42.
awelemukunees, a young buck, 127.
besons, love philtres, 40.
bi, tree, 132.
chasquem, maize, 29.
chicung, the shadow, 73.
chwami, March or shade month, 46.
Communipaw, principal landing place, 124.
Crosswicks, crossweeksung, house of separation, 124.
demapechen, to cut, 42.
denotas, measures or bags, 34.
ekwi, between, 123, 132.
esko-tope, maize, 29.
espatingh, a hill, 124.
gachtin, year, 46.
gamunk, on the other side of the river, 124.
gawi, a hedgehog, 124.
gentgaat, a dancer, 80.
gentge, a dance, 80.
gentgeen, to dance, 80.

¹See also the "Indian Interpreter," p. 129.

Vocabulary :

gequak, or n'sukgehak, black wampum, 36.
gintkaan, to dance, 80.
gischi, already, 124.
gischuch, moon, 46.
Goffle, gaffle, the fork, 124.
Hackensack, land of the big snake, 124.
hacki, earth, 63, 124.
hakihaan, plantation, 63.
hanne, a rapid stream, 123.
hannek, a flowing river, 129.
hican, an implement, 42.
ho, a shout, 124.
hokes, bark of a tree, 124.
homine, boiled maize, 30.
hopoacan, hapockon, pipe, 30, 124.
iskwew or iskwayoo, woman, 26.
jesquem, maize, 29.
jessakid, revealer of hidden truths, 81.
kaaka, a wild goose, 124.
kabibonokka, north wind, 15.
kabun, west wind, 15.
kamik, komuk, commuc, enclosure, natural or artificial, 129.
kankis, bread made from maize, 78.
kannaka, a pious ejaculation, 71, 72, 78.
keekq, beads or wampum belts, 43.
kehti-paquonunk, at the great clearing, 126.
kenon, a dance, 80.
k'htai, the great one, 91.
kickeron, the eternally active, life, energy, 70.
kinda, who breaks open, 80.
kindaacka, violent pushing, 80.
kik-ochqueu, a single woman, 25.
kikey-ochqueu, an elderly woman, 25.
kinika, pell-mell, 80.
kinte kaye, kinticka, a ceremonial dance, 79, 132.
kitschi, kitchi, big, great, 46, 53, 124, 128, 129.
kitschinipen, June or Summer, 46.
kitschitachquoak, September or Autumn month, 46.
kitzinacka, medicine man, 53 ; Big Snake doctor, 80, 81.
kiwihuw, homeless, 17.
kona, snow, 17.
koutsinacka, devil hunter, 80.
kowamo, war whoop, 43.
krakeel val, a noisy stream, 125.
kscha-tey, tobacco, 30.
kschuppehella gahenna, the

22

Vocabulary :

water tumbles down from a great precipice, 130.
iaichauwiechen, fork of a road, 124.
lenapewihittuck, the rapid stream of the Lenape, 20.
Lenni Lenape, the Indians of our tribe or nation, 18.
lomowopek, white on the inside, 127.
lowanneui-alank, the North star, 47.
macheu, great, 22; big, 123, 124.
macopanackhan, place where pumpkins grow, 125.
manhtat, bow and arrow, 42.
Manito, Manitou, the Wonder-Worker, 74; the Devil, 80.
mashkikikewimini, medicine-men, 81.
mattapassigan, deadly charm, 83.
maumun'di, a game, 43.
mayi-totawew, il lui fait mal, 131.
m'chakhocque, December, cold month, 46.
m'choamowi, March or shad month, 46.
mehen, big or large, 22.
mehittueth, war club, 43.
menach'hen, island, 125.
menehenicke, an island, 125.
messu-sipi, great river, 22.
meteohet, to drum on a hollow body, 51.
meteu, a turkey, 51.
meteu or medeu, doctor or medicine man, 51.
michi, great, 15.
mide, medicine-man, priest or prophet, 81.
Midewewin, Grand Medicine Society, 81.
Minsi, people of a stony country, 86.
misaw, great, 22.
m'iteh, heart, 51.
mitew, a sorcerer, medicine man, 51.
miyo-totawew, il lui fait du bien, 131.
monachgeu, ground hog, 125.
moschiwi, bare, open, 132.
msichguatash, succotash, 30.
munhacke, badger, 125.
namaesi-sipu, fish river, 19.
nasaump, or samp, Indian corn, 30.
nawakwa, in the middle of the forest, 127.
neww, water, 19.
ni, I or mine, contractions of, 62.
n'mitzi, I eat, 68.

Vocabulary :

nochkunduwoagan, "an answering," 43.
nom, oil or grease, 128.
nquittompeg or nquitnisha-
causu, one fathom or 5 shil-
lings, 36.
ochqueu, woman, squaw, 25.
ochqueunk, of a woman, 26.
okhufke, muddy, 19.
oki, above, 90.
onk, suffix meaning place, 123.
o'pahokun, pipe, 30.
openagi, Eastlanders, 17.
oppai, white, 15, 17.
opuhnarke, name of the Dela-
ware tribe, 17.
oskiskwew, a young woman,
26.
pach, to split, divide, 126.
pachgeechen, where the road
forks, 126.
packquechen, a meadow, 124.
pakihm, pakihmin, cranberries,
126.
Parampseapus, turkey river,
125.
Paramus, place of wild turkeys,
125.
paug, suffix, pond or lake, 128.
paugu'un-auke, land made
clear for cultivation, 126.
páwámiw, the dream, 50.
peag, a fathom, 36.
peaque, beads used as cur-
rency, 35.
pe-askumun-ul, maize, 29.
pe-auke, water land, 124, 128.
pemapuchk, big rock, 124, 125.
peroeu, plœu, a turkey, 125.
per-ukunees, Preakness, a
young buck, 127.
peyakonisk, fathom, 36.
pichtokenna, milk weed, 42.
pihm, to sweat, 127.
pilhiik, clean, pure, 123, 127.
pilsit, chaste, 127.
pimeu, oblique, 127.
pimoacun, sweat house, 48.
piuckquat, sixty pence, 36.
p'mocklapen, deer hunt, 42.
pohque, clear, open, 127.
poke-koo-un-go, turtle, 87.
pokqueu, clam or mussel, 36.
pooxit, October, month of ver-
min, 46.
powaw, priest or physician, 49,
50; conjurer, 76; clairvoyant,
81.
puck, locative suffix, 123.
pullaook, turkey, 88.
qua-quallis, a game, 43.
quitauweuhewi, April or spring
month, 46.
raikghawaik, a small creek, 127.
sachem, chief, 90, 91.

Vocabulary :

Sagorighweyogsta, "Great
Arbiter, or Doer of Justice,"
120.
sakauweuhewi, August or Deer
month, 46.
sapaen, sappan, or suppaen,
corn or pone bread, 30.
sassoonan, "one who is well
wrapped up," 97.
scheyechbi, "long land water,"
southern part of New Jersey,
18, 19, 24.
schingask, a boggy meadow,
129.
schinghacki, a flat country, 129.
sckata or shuate, tobacco, 30.
seapus, sipus, river, 125.
seawant, black and white beads,
35.
sek, fright, 128.
shaman, medicine man, priest,
81.
shawans, the south wind, 15.
shiku, orphan, 97.
Shinaking, land of the spruce
pines or fir trees, 22.
Sicomac, a large enclosed place,
129.
sihilleu, the freshet abates, 129.
sihilleu-hannek or slank, the
backwater from a freshet, 129.
Slinker val, the left-hand
brook, 130.
Slooterdam, a dam with a gate
or sluice way in it, 123.
sokpehellak, cataract, 130.
sookpehellu, large or great
fall, 130.
suckanhock, purple or violet
beads, 35.
Sukachsin, iron, black-stone,
130.
suk-assun-ink, place where the
black stone is found, 130.
sukeu, black, 36, 130.
Swannekins, the Dutch, 105.
tachis, hopnuts, 78.
Tamanend, "affable," 96.
tantmusq, a game, 43.
tauwinipen, May, beginning of
summer, 46.
tauwundin, a burying ground,
129.
temapechen, to cut, 42.
tetauwi, between, 130.
t'ma-hican, stone-hatchet,
tomahawk, 42.
totauiet, to sink, dive, 130.
totem, symbol or device of a
gens, 99.
tschipan, bow string, 42.
tschitsch, repetition, a man's
double, 73.
tsqualli, February or frog
month, 46.

Vocabulary :

twa, to do, 131.
 Unalachtigo, "people who live
 'near the ocean," 86.
 Unami, "people down the
 river," 86.
 wab, wabi, wape, wompi, wau-
 bish, east, 11; white, 15, 17.
 wabeno, dreamer, 81.
 wabos, hare, 15.
 wabun, the east wind, 15.
 wachtschu, or wadchu, hill,
 mountain, 132.
 wachunk, high, 132.
 wajauwe n hakkey, I am chief,
 91.
 wampum, white beads, 35.
 wampum-peak, wampumpeag,
 beads used as currency, 35.
 wanki, peace, repose, 131.
 wapan, dawn or day, 17.
 Wapanachki, Algonkins or
 Eastlanders, 17.
 wapanok, at or from the east,
 17.
 wapapi, white wampum, 36.
 wasessing, a stony hill, 132.
 wauk-chelachess, grasshopper,
 42.
 wauwapiessjes, "barebacks,"
 warriors, 94.

Vocabulary :

wecheeso, earth worm, 42.
 wendamakan, fish line, 42.
 weokufke, muddy water, 19.
 wequahick, wiquajek, at the
 end or head, 132.
 wiki, his house, 26.
 wikiw, the house, 26.
 wikwam, wiquoam, house, 26.
 wilawiochqueu, a rich woman,
 26.
 wimb, heart of a tree, 132.
 winak, sassafras, 131.
 wini, November or Snow
 month, 46.
 wiqua, birch bark, 42.
 wiqua-amochol, birch bark
 canoe, 42.
 woakeu, crooked or bent, 131.
 wojauwe, chief, 91.
 wulit, smooth, pleasant, 128.
 wulomopeak, rounded pond or
 lake, 127.
 wulum, round, 128.
 wuskiochque, a young woman,
 25.
 yantic, yaen-tuk, extending to
 the tidal river, 132.
 yawi-pogs, on one side of a
 small pond, 133.
 yugatamoewi, July, 46.

W

Wagara, meaning of, 131.
 Walam Olum, or Red Score, 20;
 quotation from, 96; sum-
 mary of, 22.
 Walrus in New Jersey, 7.
 Wamesane, deed from, 109.
 Wampum, belts of, 89, 94, 116;
 belts of for records and mes-
 sages, 38; belt of given to
 William Penn, 38; interpre-
 tation of, 38, 39; different
 kinds of, 35; keepers of, 38;
 loose and strung, 37; made
 by whites, 36, 39; material
 and manufacture of, 35, 36;
 used as currency, 35; used
 as ornament, 36; value of,
 36, 37.
 Wanaque, Wynockie, meaning of,
 131.
 Wanaque Valley, 132.
 Wapamuck, Sachem, deed from,
 109.
 Waparent, deed from, 111.
 Wapeminskink, a Delaware town,
 140.
 Wapcommehhoke, council held
 at, 140.
 Wapping Indians, mentioned in
 Easton treaty, 111; peace
 concluded with, 106, 108;
 represented at Easton confer-
 ence, 118; sketch of, 111.

War customs, 99.
 "War Trumpet," Teedyescung so
 called, 97.
 Warepeake, Indian name for Saddle
 river, 128.
 Wecaprokikan, deed from, 109.
 Wehelano, deed from, 96.
 Wehequeckhon alias Andrew,
 deed from, 96.
 Welehaley, arrest of, 149.
 Wepinck, Indian church at, 143.
 Wequahick or Bound Creek, 102,
 132.
 Wequaia, We-queh-a-lah, We-
 quah-a-lah, Weequohela,
 Weequohela, Weequelah,
 an Indian "king," letter from
 a descendant of, 144-7; fur-
 ther notices of, 147-9; exe-
 cution of, 148.
 West Jersey, Swedes settled in,
 112.
 West Milford, ponds in, 150.
 White, Indian words for, 15.
 White Owl, name of Sachem, 21.
 White river, council held on the
 banks of, 140; Indian town
 on, 140.
 White River country, Lenape at,
 146.
 Wieramus, land in Bergen county,
 132.

- Wigwam, etymology of the word, 149.
Wigwams, how constructed, 26, 27.
Winbeam, Wimbemus, a mountain, 132.
Winocksark, name of a brook, 132.
Winym, deed from for Jersey City, 102.
Wiquaesskick, Raritan tribe at, 94, 100.
Woggermahameck, deed from, 110.
Wolf, myth of, 86.
Wolf tribe, 86, 140; sub-tribes of, 87; totem of, 99.
Women, allowed to hold property, 92; their position, 92; their influence in government affairs, 90; voice of in selection of chiefs, 92; work of, 28, 32.
Wonameys, or Tortoise tribe, 86.
Wounds, treatment of, 47, 48.
Wunalachtiko or Turkey tribe, 86.
Wuoyt, deed from, 150.
Wyandottes, government of, 90.

Y

- Yantacaw, Kinte Kaey held at, 103.
Yanticaw, Yauntakah, Indian name for Third river, 132.
Yaquuekhon alias Nicholas, deed from, 96.
Yawpaw, land in Bergen county, 133.

Z

- Zohar, on the creation of man, 5, 6.



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BY WILLIAM NELSON

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